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JOHN M. P. SMITH EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

NEW SERIES. VOL. XXXV

JANUARY—JUNE, 1910

CHICAGO
The University of Chicago Press
1910

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112/10

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Published
January, February, March, April, May, June, 1910

Composed and Printed by
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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JERUSALEM FROM MOUNT SCOPUS

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXV

JANUARY, 1910

NUMBER 1

Editorial

PRINCIPLES vs. RULES AND PRECEDENTS

One of the greatest *desiderata* in present-day Christian thinking is a general and clear recognition of the supremacy of the fundamental moral principles of the Bible over all the statutes and usages in which they have found more or less temporary expression. Once and again when great moral issues have been at stake, even those who did not fully admit this general law have found a way to make principle superior to statutes and precedents. But the lesson once learned has been too soon forgotten. New problems have to be settled anew, and the principle involved requires not only to be reapplied, but often also to be learned anew.

HOW THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY WAS SOLVED

A generation ago the people of the country were confronted by the question whether domestic slavery should continue. From the point of view of the theology of the time it was a difficult problem, and both sides appealed to Scripture. The Old Testament, though seeking to mitigate the evils of slavery, did not prohibit, but expressly permitted, it. Jesus, though teaching the principle of the brotherhood of men, is not recorded as having spoken any express word against slavery. The apostle Paul sent a fugitive slave back to his master, and definitely enjoined slaves to be obedient to their masters and not to seek their freedom even if they had the opportunity. Existing institutions, he held, were not to be disturbed, but only to be permeated with the Christian spirit. In the controversies of a half-century ago these facts were forcibly urged in favor of slavery and against all efforts to abolish it. Nevertheless slavery was abolished, and the conscience of the country is today practically unanimous in

its approval of the act of abolition. The moral ideals of the gospel conquered. The essential spirit of Christianity, demanding that even the ignorant black man should have the privilege of independent action so dear to the white man, triumphed over all the arguments from the express teaching of the Old Testament and of the apostle Paul, and from the silence of Jesus. Not only so, but devout men gave their lives, and devout women their husbands and sons, to defend a conviction which, on the basis on which they were wont to reason in respect to other matters, they ought to have rejected as unscriptural. Slavery was of course not the sole issue in the Civil War of 1861-65. But it played an important part in it, and the Christian church of the northern states, by almost unanimously condemning it, committed itself to the principle that ethical questions are to be settled by the great fundamental Christian principle of love applied to existing situations rather than by the example of ancient worthies or by statutes which aimed to apply the principle of love to conditions prevailing in the ancient world.

THE QUESTION OF POLYGAMY

Polygamy furnishes another example of the same method of reaching an ethical judgment. The Old Testament countenances polygamy, and good men of Old Testament times practiced it. The New Testament has no explicit word on the matter, save the stipulation that the bishop shall be the husband of one wife. The Mormons have until recently not only practiced but definitely approved polygamy. But the conscience of Christians generally has condemned it, and for the manifest reason that experience shows that it is inconducive to the development of the highest type of home life, and so tends to corrupt human society at its very fountain. The method of Jesus, which is to base social ethics on the facts of social need, and the principle of Jesus, which is to subordinate personal preference to common welfare, has again been supreme in the face of Old Testament precedent and New Testament silence.

WHAT THIS MEANS APPLIED TO TEMPERANCE

It would be a happy thing for us if this principle had become a vital and permanent part of our Christianity. It would, for example, furnish us a firm basis for the solution of what is commonly called

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the temperance question. The Old Testament reproves drunkenness, but does not, uniformly at least, condemn the use of wine. All attempts to extract from it a consistent testimony against all use of wine, whether by a theory of two kinds of wine or otherwise, have been unsuccessful. Nor is the case essentially different with the New Testament. Drunkenness is strongly condemned and self-control is enjoined. But nowhere is wine-drinking expressly forbidden. Historical criticism may indeed throw doubt on the Pauline authorship of the passage containing the advice to Timothy, and question the historicity of the narrative of the conversion of the water into wine at Cana. But, aside from the fact that such criticism would be, for most of those who might be tempted to use it, a two-edged blade, it leaves us, even taken at its full value, with no explicit condemnation in the New Testament of wine-drinking as such.

What, then, shall we say? Must the case be given to the "United Societies," or whatever organization may favor the drinking of intoxicating liquors? By no means; least of all on these grounds. There may be doubt as to the precise teaching of Paul or practice of Jesus. But there is no doubt that both Jesus and Paul taught that in all of a man's life he should be governed by the great principle of love to one's neighbor—regard for his well-being equally with one's own. Nor is there any doubt that that principle is the basis on which a human life must be built if it is to be well built, and human society developed if it is to be soundly and strongly developed. In the circumstances that exist in this land and today, the saloon is a menace to the well-being of the nation, and ought to be abolished. As respects the use of intoxicants by the individual, there may be room for discussion whether self-control, which is every man's duty, also means for every man total abstinence. But there can be no doubt that for the man to whom the use of alcoholic liquors carries with it an immediate injury or serious risk of begetting a harmful habit, no argument derived from the New Testament or based on its principles can justify the use of such liquors. Nor can anyone who has learned and accepted the principles of the religion of Jesus be indifferent to the danger that to drink at all, even without excess and without danger of excess, may indirectly contribute to drunkenness in others. America is not Palestine, and the conditions of life

in America in the twentieth century are very different from those in Palestine in the first century. Principles are permanent, but their applications change. To plead the example of Jesus or the silence of the New Testament on this particular matter as against the requirements of the central principle of the consideration of the well-being of others is to contradict the spirit of Jesus, and to repeat the mistake of those who were careful for the mint, anise, and cummin, while neglecting the weightier matters, justice and mercy and faithfulness.

THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE TO THE SABBATH

The Sabbath furnishes another problem, which though markedly different in some respects from those previously named requires to be dealt with on the same principles. The Old Testament contains a very strict Sabbath law, in which the prophets also for substance concur. The scribes of the post-exilic and New Testament period still further accentuated its strictness. Jesus not only dissented from this later legalistic view, but going beneath even the Old Testament prophets and law, and recognizing that ultimate value lies not in institutions or days, but in men, made the Sabbath an instrument of human welfare, to be administered and controlled from this point of view. The apostle Paul, finding the Sabbath a prominent element of that legalism which to him was the subversion of the gospel, placed it in the same category with circumcision, insisting that no one had the right to impose it upon the Gentile conscience. Are we, then, forbidden to keep the Sabbath? By no means. It is quite within the competence of the Christian community to determine whether the setting of one day in seven apart from the other six contributes to human welfare, and if so, how it shall be distinguished from the others. On this question the experience of the centuries is decisive. We do need, all of us, a weekly interruption in the round of toil, and we do well to make one day in seven a day of physical and mental rest, of spiritual inspiration and uplift. A Sabbath is more necessary than the apostle Paul apparently supposed. But that does not restore for us the Old Testament statute, or substitute for it any new *statute*. The words of Jesus sum up the whole truth on the matter—"The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath; therefore the Son of man is Lord of the Sabbath." And

he has given us no statute concerning it, but only the great principle of love to guide in this as in other matters. When, therefore, in the interest of the community and of every member of it, we by common consent set apart one day in seven, and then make use of this day, as circumstances demand, in whatsoever way will most promote human welfare, we are following the teaching and example of Jesus.

THE PRINCIPLE OF LOVE OF UNIVERSAL APPLICABILITY

The same rule holds in the whole range of moral conduct. Paradoxical as it may seem, for the Christian, bound though he is by the principles of the New Testament itself to obey the laws of the nation, state, and city, there are no biblical statutes, old or new, no precedents, permissive or prohibitive. But there is one great principle running like a thread of gold through the Old Testament and the New Testament, central in the teaching of Jesus, incarnate in his life, dominant in the life of Paul, never since the first century more clearly perceived than today, now and always demanding allegiance from all men. This great principle of love to one's neighbor is applicable to every situation to which life gives rise. To apply it rightly requires a sensitive conscience and enlightened perception. Honest men may honestly differ as to what its application involves in a given set of circumstances. But it is vain to appeal from it to statute or precedent. For the Christian, love is the final arbiter. This it is that Jesus taught the world.

THE HEBREW IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

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I. EARLIEST CONCEPTIONS OF THE SOUL

From the earliest period of the Hebrew religion no literary records have come down to us. In lack of direct historical evidence, accordingly, we are compelled to turn to the indirect testimony of comparative religion. Beliefs and rites that existed among all ancient peoples, and that still exist among savages, may safely be regarded as primitive. When these are found also among the Babylonians, Aramaeans, Canaanites, and Arabs, we may conclude that they were a part of primitive Semitic religion. If, now, we find in the Old Testament conceptions that are identical with those of the other Semites and of primitive races throughout the world, we are justified in inferring that these are survivals from the earliest period of the religion of Israel. Applying this method to the study of the Hebrew conception of the future life, we reach the following conclusions:

a) *The distinction between soul and body.*—When men first began to think, they were confronted with the fact of death. Their companion, felled by a blow, or smitten by a disease, lay prostrate before them. In outward appearance he was the same, but he was unconscious of all that they did, and he could not respond either by word or by motion. It was evident even to the most rudimentary intelligence that an invisible something had gone out of the man. Most primitive peoples observed the fact that breathing ceases at death, and therefore identified the vital principle with the breath. In many languages the words for “spirit” denote primarily “breath,” or “wind,” e.g., Skr. *prāṇa*; Gr., *pneuma*, *anemos*; Lat., *spiritus*, *anima*; Germ. and Eng., *Geist*, *ghost*, which are etymologically connected with *gust*.

This was also the conception of the Semites. For them man consisted of two elements, “flesh” (Heb. *bāsār*) and “breath” (Heb. Phœn. *nefesh*, Arab. *nafs*, Eth. *nafās*, Syr. *nafshā*, Bab. Ass. *nāpishṭu*). The “breath” was the seat of knowledge, appetite, emotion, and

activity; accordingly it was identical with the person. In all the Semitic dialects *naʾshî*, "my breath," means "myself." At death the "breath" with all its powers went out of a man. With this primitive Semitic conception of spirit the theology of the Old Testament is in complete agreement.

b) *The continued existence of the disembodied soul.*—Primitive man believed not only in the distinction between soul and body but also in the ability of the soul to survive the catastrophe of death. The paleolithic cave-dwellers of the quaternary period placed with their dead ornaments, implements, arms, and food for use in the other life, and celebrated funeral feasts in their honor. The same was true of the cave-dwellers of the neolithic age.¹ Anthropologists are agreed that no savage race exists which does not believe in some sort of immortality and practice some rites in honor of the dead.² In view of these facts it is evident that immortality was one of the original beliefs of our race.

Among the Semites this belief existed from the earliest times. The ancient tombs at Nippur and Tello in Babylonia contain the usual offerings to the dead.³ In the oldest tombs of Palestine⁴ the dead were commonly deposited in the contracted position of an unborn child, in witness to the faith that death was birth into another life; and with them were placed offerings of food and of other useful articles.

According to Wellhausen⁵ the Jinn, or "hidden beings" of the Arabs, who were for the most part nature-spirits, also included spirits of the dead. Like other primitive peoples, the pre-Muhammadan Arabs buried the dead with care, provided for their needs in the other world, invoked their assistance, and even swore by their life.⁶

The most ancient Hebrew tombs in Palestine contain precisely the

¹ D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 14-19.

² Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 69; Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, art. "Ancestor Worship."

³ Peters, *Nippur*, II, 173; Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 686; Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 508 f.

⁴ *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1902, pp. 351 ff.; 1903, pp. 14 ff.

⁵ *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², pp. 148 ff.

⁶ Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Nöldeke, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, art. "Arabs," p. 672.

same deposits that are found in other Semitic tombs, and bear witness to the same conception of immortality that was held by the other Semitic peoples.⁷ According to the Old Testament the *nefesh*, or "breath," persists after death, and *nefesh* is used as the name of the disembodied spirit (cf. Lev. 19:28; 21:1; 21:11; Num. 5:2; 6:6; 6:11; 9:6 f.; 9:10; 19:11 f.; Hag. 2:13). Belief in the continued existence of the dead is strikingly exemplified in the narrative of the appearance of the ghost of Samuel to Saul (I Sam., chap. 28). In view of the antiquity of this belief among the Semites and among other primitive peoples, we may safely conclude that it was held by the Hebrews in the pre-Mosaic period.

c) *Powers lost by the soul in death*.—The identification of the soul with the breath, shadow, reflection, or echo of the living man, led naturally to the conception that it was vague and unsubstantial. Early races and savages have uniformly regarded the soul as a small, feeble being, ordinarily invisible, inaudible, and intangible, that is unable to take care of itself, and that needs to be sheltered and guarded until, so to speak, it "finds itself" in the spirit-world.⁸ When Achilles would embrace the shade of Patroclus, it passes through his hands like smoke.⁹ In like manner Ulysses finds the shade of his mother wholly unsubstantial.¹⁰ Even the souls of heroes are so feeble that they cannot be roused to activity until they have drunk the fresh, hot blood of victims poured into the sacrificial trench.¹¹

The early Semitic conceptions of the soul were closely similar. The names "breath," "wind," "shadow," "echo," that were used for ghosts suggested their ethereal nature. In Babylonian incantations they are described as "wind-gusts."¹² In the Gilgamesh Epic the ghost of Eabani issues "like a wind" out of a hole in the earth.¹³

The Hebrews also thought of the soul as losing its physical powers in parting from the body. For them it was only "breath" or "wind."

⁷ *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1904, pp. 328 ff.

⁸ D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 78.

⁹ *Iliad*, xxiii. 114-22.

¹⁰ *Odyssey*, xi. 252-71.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹² Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, I, xxix, 75.

¹³ *Gilgamesh Epic*, tablet xii, col. iv; = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 263.

The common name for ghosts is *rephaim*, "feeble ones" (Job 26:5; Ps. 88:11 [10]; Prov. 2:18; Isa. 14:9; 26:19). In Isa. 14:10 the ghosts say: "Art thou also become weak as we?" In Ps. 88:4 the sick man says: "I am like to them that go down into the pit; I am as a man that hath no help." According to Isa. 59:10 they "grope as those that have no eyes, and stumble at noon as in the twilight" (cf. Ezek. 26:20 f.). Such statements show that the later Hebrews had inherited from their remote forefathers the general belief of primitive man in the shadowy, unsubstantial nature of disembodied souls.

d) *Powers retained by the soul in death.*—Although, according to the antique conception, the dead lost their physical powers, they lost none of their higher spiritual powers of knowledge, feeling, and will. Ancestors retained a keen interest in their posterity and actively intervened in their affairs. Enemies preserved their original hostility to their foes. The dead were conscious of events that occurred on earth. Those who had met an untimely fate remembered that fact and were unhappy in the other world. The spirits of murdered men, of those that had died in youth, of women that had died in childbirth, and of those that had left no descendants, could not rest. All these classes of troubled ghosts are mentioned repeatedly in Babylonian exorcisms.¹⁴ Among the Arabs the soul of a murdered man was believed to thirst for the blood of his slayer. If his clansmen did not speedily avenge him, he appeared in the form of an owl, crying, "Give me to drink!"¹⁵

Among the Hebrews the shades are represented as rejoicing at the downfall of the king of Babylon (Isa. 14:9 f.). Pharaoh is comforted when he sees the hosts of the dead that have preceded him (Ezek. 32:31). Rachel mourns over the captivity of her children (Jer. 31:15). From Isa. 63:16 it appears that some of the nation believed that Abraham and Israel continued to care for their descendants. According to I Sam. 28:16-19, Samuel remembers his relations with Saul, and continues to feel concern in the welfare of Israel. The blood of murdered Abel cries to Yahweh from the earth (Gen. 4:10), that is, the soul that resides in the blood is conscious of the wrong done to it and demands vengeance. Compare Job 24:12:

¹⁴ Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, I, 39 ff.

¹⁵ Nöldeke, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, art. "Arabs," p. 672.

"From out of the cities the dead groan, and the soul of the slain crieth out"; also Enoch 9:10: "Now, behold, the spirits of the dead cry out, and lament even unto the gates of heaven"; and Rev. 6:9, where the souls under the altar cry out: "How long, O Master, the holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" A father's blessing or curse operates after his death because he himself sees to its fulfilment. Hence the exaggerated reverence for parents and the aged that we find among the ancient Hebrews.

In contrast to these passages, which ascribe to the dead a continuance of those powers of thought and feeling that they enjoyed on earth, another view appears in the later writings of the Old Testament, according to which the dead have lost memory, knowledge, and desire. This view, as we shall see more fully later, was a result of the conflict of the religion of Yahweh against primitive animism and ancestor-worship. The other conception, which ascribed to the dead large powers of thought and feeling, was, as comparative religion shows, the original Hebrew belief.¹⁶

In ancient times spirits were believed to retain the appearance of their bodies at the time of death. In the *Odyssey* (xi. 50) those who have fallen in battle appear to Ulysses "mangled by the spear and clad in bloody armor." So also among the Hebrews the dead retained the semblance of their former bodies. The ghost of Samuel was recognized by Saul because he appeared as "an old man covered with a robe" (I Sam. 28:14). The kings of the earth still wore their royal apparel and sat on thrones in the other world (Isa. 14:9). The dead of all the different nations were recognizable by their features and their costumes. The warriors "had their weapons of war and laid their swords under their heads." The uncircumcised remained uncircumcised; those pierced with the sword still showed the fatal gash (Ezek. 32:21-32; cf. 28:10; 31:18). Hence wounded warriors committed suicide that they might appear in the other world to have died as heroes (Judg. 9:54; I Sam. 31:4; II Sam. 17:23).

The belief was universal that, under certain conditions, the dead had the power of appearing to the living.¹⁷ When thus appearing,

¹⁶ Charles, *Eschatology Hebrew and Christian*, p. 41.

¹⁷ Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 138.

they could speak in audible tones, though with weak and trembling voices that corresponded to their ethereal nature. Thus in the *Odyssey* (xi. 54) the ghosts approach Ulysses "with gibbering cries." Among the Babylonians ghosts frequently appeared in houses and omens were drawn from these manifestations.¹⁸ In the Gilgamesh Epic (tablet xii), the ghost of Eabani comes to Gilgamesh, talks with him, and answers his questions. Among the Arabs ghosts were more easily perceived by animals than by men (a widespread belief; cf. Balaam's ass, Num. 22:23), but they were also seen by men under favorable conditions. They spoke in whispers or in mysterious murmurs in the desert. Their voice was known as *ṣadâ*, "echo." When they were addressed by the living, they replied out of their graves. When a woman named Laila doubted whether her dead lover could answer her, as he had promised he would do, an owl flew out of his grave and struck her in the face.¹⁹

In the Old Testament appearances of ghosts are rarely mentioned, because the religion of Yahweh was opposed to necromancy and the cult of the dead; still there is the classical instance of the raising of Samuel (I Sam., chap. 28; cf. Job 4:15). In post-biblical literature apparitions of the dead are more frequently mentioned. Thus in II Mac. 15:12-16 the high-priest Onias and the prophet Jeremiah appear to Judas Maccabaeus on the eve of the battle with the Syrians, and in Josephus (*Ant.*, XVII, 13:4; *War*, II, 7:4) Alexander appears to his widow Glaphyra.

Another general belief of primitive peoples is that the soul continues to maintain a relation to the dead body. When the flesh has disappeared, it clings to the skull or the bones; and when these have vanished, it haunts the grave where its ashes are buried. In Babylonia the *ekimmu*, or "ghost," is constantly spoken of as coming forth from the grave.²⁰ In Arabia the name *hâma*, "skull," applied to the departed indicates that they were associated with their mortal remains. Many of the Jinn live in graveyards or in regions where all the inhabitants have died. They love decay and foul smells.²¹

¹⁸ Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, I, xxxv.

¹⁹ Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 150 f., 183.

²⁰ Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, II, 131.

²¹ Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 150 f., 157; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 259, 448.

Among the Hebrews also the soul was believed to retain a close connection with its dead body. The corpse and everything connected with it rendered one who touched it taboo. Originally, as among other primitive peoples, this was a sacred taboo due to the presence of the revered spirits in the body; subsequently, in consequence of the opposition of Yahwism to the cult of the dead, it was regarded as an unclean taboo (e.g., Num. 19:11 P). The cult of the patriarchs and heroes that was carried on at their graves proves that they were supposed still to haunt their bodies. The voice of Rachel weeping for her children was heard in Ramah on the road between Bethel and Bethlehem where her body was buried (Jer. 31:15; Gen. 35:16-20). Similarly, in Mark 5:5, the man possessed by the unclean spirit dwelt among the tombs. Injuries to the body were still felt by the soul. Job 14:21 f., while denying that the dead man cares anything about his sons, yet affirms, "Only for his own body he feels pain, and for his own soul he mourns." Hence mutilation of the corpses of enemies was practiced by the Hebrews as by other ancient peoples (I Sam. 17:51 ff.; 18:25, 27; II Sam. 4:12; 20:22).

This connection of the spirit with the corpse explains the vast importance attached by primitive races to burial. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and all other ancient peoples believed that the soul could not rest unless its body were properly entombed (cf. *Odyssey*, xi. 91). Refusal of burial was an injury that was inflicted only upon criminals, or upon the most hated enemies. Violation of a tomb insured the disquieting of the spirit that dwelt within.²² In the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic (tablet xii, col. 6) the ghost of Eabani says to Gilgamesh: "He whose corpse has been thrown out into the desert—thou hast seen, I have seen it—his spirit resteth not in the earth." By both Babylonians and Assyrians burial was refused to enemies, and their bodies were cast out to be devoured by beasts and birds.²³ The graves of dead enemies were often violated by the Assyrians.²⁴ Among the Arabs burial was a necessity, without which the soul could not rest. Cremation was

²² De la Saussaye, *History of Religions*, p. 114.

²³ Stele of Eannatum; *Annals of Ashurbanipal*, IV, 73 ff.; VII, 45.

²⁴ *Annals of Ashurbanipal*, VI, 70 ff.; see Jeremias, *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 46 ff.

regarded as no less dreadful than the burning of the living body. Only the corpses of enemies were cast out to be devoured.²⁵

Among the Hebrews there existed the same horror of remaining unburied. Fathers on their deathbeds solemnly charged their sons not to neglect the last rites (e.g., Gen. 47:30). When the prophet declared, "They shall not be gathered nor buried, they shall be as dung upon the face of the ground" (Jer. 25:33; cf. Isa. 14:18 f.; Jer. 22:19; 36:30), this was a fearful curse. Still more terrible was the thought of being devoured by beasts (II Sam. 21:10; I Kings 14:13; II Kings 9:35 ff.). So dreadful did it seem to refuse burial that this was accorded even to criminals (Deut. 21:22 f.; Josh. 7:24-26), or to those who committed suicide (Josephus, *War*, III, 8:5). Only the bodies of foreign enemies, or of the most heinous offenders were left unburied (I Sam. 17:44; Ezek. 29:5), or were burnt (Isa. 30:33; Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14; Josh. 7:15). Violation of tombs and burning of their contents were regarded as terrible calamities (Am. 2:1; I Kings 13:2; II Kings 23:16, 20).

Not merely burial but also burial in the family grave was earnestly desired by the Hebrews. Jacob required of Joseph that he should bury him in the burying-place of his fathers (Gen. 47:30; cf. 50:25; II Sam. 17:23; 19:37; 21:14). Of nearly all the kings of Judah it is recorded that they were buried with their fathers in the city of David; hence the euphemistic expressions for burial, "gather unto one's fathers," "gather unto one's kin," "lie with one's fathers." Exclusion from the family tomb was a severe punishment (II Sam. 18:17; I Kings 13:22; II Kings 21:18; II Chron. 28:27). All this shows that the Hebrews, like other ancient peoples, believed that the soul lingered with the corpse, and that by burial in the family tomb it enjoyed the fellowship of its relatives.

In marked contrast to this conception is the belief expressed in many parts of the Old Testament that the dead live together in a subterranean abode known as Sheol. This idea is not found among the Arabs, nor among several other races allied to the Hebrews; it cannot therefore be primitive Semitic. Other races think of the soul either as remaining with the body, or as going to a realm beneath

²⁵ Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 177; Nöldeke, Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, I 672.

the earth, on a mountain top, beyond the ocean, or in the sky. This variety shows that the conception of a spirit-world is secondary, and that the primitive belief was that the soul remained in the neighborhood of the body. This also was doubtless the original Hebrew idea, and the doctrine of Sheol is a later development.

Closely connected with the idea that the ghost haunts the corpse is the idea that it still needs food, drink, and other necessities of life, and that these must be placed either in the grave or upon it. From the earliest times such offerings were deposited with the dead. This custom existed among all the Semitic peoples, and it was found also among the Hebrews. Hebrew tombs in Palestine contain the same sorts of deposits that are placed in the earlier Canaanite tombs, and offerings to the dead are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament (Deut. 26:14; Jer. 16:7; Ezek. 24:17, 22; II Chron. 16:14). All this implies that the dead retain the same needs that they have had in life.

e) *Powers gained by the soul in death.*—Among the Semites, as among other ancient peoples, it was believed that spirits of the dead not only retained the knowledge possessed by them in life, but also acquired new and greater knowledge. The abnormal powers of the subconscious soul, such as crystal-gazing, motor automatism, thought-transference, telepathy, telesthesia, and foreboding of the future, were ascribed to their influence.²⁶ They were therefore believed to be far wiser than mortals, and they were consulted for guidance in the affairs of life and for oracles concerning the future. Among the Arabs the spirit that revealed himself to a medium was known as *ra'î*, the same word as the Hebrew *rô'eh*, "seer." Among the Hebrews he was known as *yiddē 'ônî*, "the knowing one." When the ghost of Samuel appeared to Saul he predicted to him his impending death and the defeat of Israel (I Sam. 28:19).

Spirits also, although haunting their bodies, were not restricted to them. They could move at will with lightning-like rapidity to any place where they wished to manifest themselves. As a Babylonian exorcism says,

The highest walls, the thickest walls, like a flood they pass.
From house to house they break through.

²⁶ See Lang, *The Making of Religion*.

No door can shut them out, no bolt can turn them back.
 Through the door like a snake they glide,
 Through the hinge like the wind they blow.²⁷

They also possessed the extraordinary power of entering new bodies.

1. They could occupy inanimate objects.—According to primitive theology, spirits could use as their instruments material things, such as sticks and stones, causing in them motion, or endowing them with magical powers. In this case a *talisman* was produced. They could also animate an object by taking up their abode in it. In this case the result was a *fetish*. The idea was widespread that they preferred to occupy images made in the likeness of their former bodies. Thus in Egypt statues of the deceased were multiplied in tombs that his *ka*, or “double,” might find abundant opportunity to take up its abode. Among the Arabs a heap of stones, or a standing stone (*nuṣṣ*=Heb. *maṣṣēbā*), was placed upon the grave, and was believed to be occupied by the dead just as really as similar stones in sanctuaries were occupied by the gods.²⁸ In Nabataean, Palmyrene, and Aramaic *nejesh*, “soul,” means also “tombstone.” The Babylonians provided statues at the entrances to temples and houses as residences for the ghosts.²⁹

The ancient Hebrews shared this universal belief of antiquity. Heaps of stones were placed over the graves of Achan and of Absalom that their ghosts might remain in them and trouble Israel no longer (Josh. 7:26; II Sam. 18:17). A *maṣṣēbā*, or “standing stone,” stood upon Rachel’s grave “unto this day” (Gen. 35:20; cf. II. Sam. 18:18). This was doubtless a *bēth-ēl* or “house of deity,” as were all the other *maṣṣēbôth* (Gen. 35:14 f.). *Maṣṣēbôth* of this sort must have been the seats of cult of the dead, since no exception is made in their favor in the sweeping condemnation of later legislation (Exod. 23:24; 34:13; Lev. 26:1; Deut. 7:5; 12:3; 16:22). The view of Stade, Schwally, Budde, Holzinger, Nowack, and Charles that the *teraphim* were images of ancestors cannot be demonstrated,

²⁷ Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, I, 58.

²⁸ Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 180, 184.

²⁹ Jastrow, *Die Religion Bab.*, p. 281; see also the representations in Thompson, *Devils*, I, frontispiece, Pl. II, and Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia*, p. 147.

but is nevertheless exceedingly probable in view of the facts that they were not images of Yahweh (Gen. 35:2, 4, E; cf. 31:19, E), that they represented the human form (I Sam. 19:13, 16), that they were household gods (Gen. 31:30, 34; Judg. 17:5; I Sam. 19:13, 16), and that they were used for obtaining oracles (I Sam. 15:23; II Kings 23:24; Ezek. 21:21; Zech. 10:2). Etymologically the word may be connected with *rephaim*, "shades," or with Bab. *tarpu*, "specter." It is interesting to note that Wisd. Sol. 14:15 connects the origin of idolatry with images of the dead.

2. Spirits could take possession of animals.—So widespread was this belief among primitive peoples that Wilken, Tylor, and other anthropologists have conjectured that it is the explanation of totemism, or the worship of animals as the ancestors of tribes.³⁰ Among the Arabs ghosts and Jinn frequently appeared in the forms of beasts and birds, particularly of serpents and owls.³¹ The same was true in Babylonia.³² In the Old Testament we find no trace of this belief, unless it be in the list of unclean beasts Lev., chap. 11, and Deut., chap. 14. It is noteworthy that the animals and birds here pronounced unclean are precisely those which the other Semites regarded as most often possessed by spirits. From Exod. 20:4 (cf. II Kings 18:4; Ezek. 8:10) we learn that the early Hebrews worshiped images of animals, which shows that they regarded animals as the abodes of spirits.

3. Spirits could occupy the bodies of living men.—This might take the form either of *obsession*, resulting in disease or insanity, or of *possession*, resulting in the imparting of the higher knowledge, skill, or power of the spirit. This idea was universal in antiquity. The Arabs believed that while the soul was absent in sleep the Jinn could easily take possession of its body. They caused all manner of sicknesses and insanity. The name for "insane" was *majnûn*, i.e., "possessed by Jinn." They were also the causes of remarkable ability and of prophetic inspiration.³³ The Babylonians believed

³⁰ Crooke, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, art. "Ancestor Worship," p. 430.

³¹ Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 152, 157, 185.

³² Thompson, *Devils*, I, l. 51; Jastrow, *Die Rel. Bab.*, p. 281.

³³ Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 155-63.

that the troubled ghost of the unburied, or of one who had died an unnatural death, might enter the body of any person with whom it had established chance relations in life, and might then cause disease and pain.³⁴ It could be driven out only by powerful incantations in the name of the great gods, and by threats that it should be deprived of food and drink.

Survivals of similar ideas among the Hebrews are seen in the fact that diseases such as leprosy rendered one ceremonially unclean. Being caused by rival spirits, they roused the jealousy of Yahweh, and excluded the sufferer from his cult. In later times they were ascribed to the activity of Yahweh himself, who thus absorbed the functions of the ancient lesser spirits (Num. 12:10; I Sam. 25:38; I Kings 17:20); but, with curious inconsistency, the diseases still remained unclean. The insanity of Saul was due to "an evil spirit from Yahweh that terrified him" (I Sam. 16:14), and such insanity protected a man from injury, because, as in the modern Orient, he was regarded as inspired (I Sam. 21:12-15; 24:7). To stir up trouble between Abimelech and the Shechemites, God sent an evil spirit into them (Judg. 9:23); and in order that Sennacherib might depart, Yahweh sent a spirit into him (II Kings 19:7). In the developed Hebrew theology all extraordinary talents or powers were ascribed to possession by the spirit of Yahweh (Exod. 28:3; 31:3; Num. 27:18; Judg. 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14; I Sam. 11:6); but this idea was due to absorption by Yahweh of the functions of originally independent spirits, as is shown by the survival in the Hebrew language of such expressions as "spirit of wisdom, spirit of might, spirit of jealousy, spirit of error, spirit of deep sleep."

f) *The general estimate of death.*—Because of the powers that have just been described the dead were regarded by all ancient peoples as supernatural beings, to whom the same sort of worship should be paid that was rendered to the gods and to other classes of spirits. The Babylonians prefixed to names of ghosts the determinative for "god," and by the Hebrews also they were known as *elohim*, "gods" (I Sam. 28:13). Yet, in spite of this fact, primitive man did not look forward with any satisfaction to death as an enlargement of his powers. On the contrary, it was regarded by him as an unmixed evil.

³⁴ Thompson, *Devils*, I, xxxiv.

So important was the body that existence without it seemed shadowy and worthless. Thus in the *Odyssey* (xi. 602 ff.) Achilles says: "I would be a laborer on earth, and serve for hire some man of mean estate who makes scant cheer, rather than reign o'er all who have gone down to death." Death was not a going to the gods whom one had loved and honored in life, but a passing out of the sphere of their care and interest. Their rewards and punishments were distributed in this world. In the other world moral distinctions vanished, and all were reduced to one common level of misery.

The conception of the ancient Hebrew was practically identical. Death seemed to him wholly evil. His one desire was that he might live long in the land, enjoy peace and prosperity, and have numerous descendants. His hope never extended into the other world. Even in late times death was regarded as exclusion from the presence and the care of Yahweh (Isa. 38:18; Ps. 115:16 f.; 6:5 f.; 30:10). Neither rewards nor punishments followed a man into the other life (Job 3:14-19). If, even in the Mosaic religion, the dead were regarded as standing outside of the pale of religion and morality, much more must this have been the belief in the pre-Mosaic age when Yahweh was unknown and many gods were worshiped (Exod. 6:2; Josh. 24:15).

Summing up now this survey, it appears that, while the earliest Hebrews believed in the existence of the soul after death and ascribed to it superhuman powers, yet their idea was so vague, and so destitute of religious or ethical significance, that it can scarcely be called a doctrine of immortality in any true sense of the word. The conception of God needed to be deepened and broadened immensely before an adequate idea of immortality could be formed; nevertheless, these crude beginnings were the foundation on which the structure of a better faith was destined to rise.

THE EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE

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I

In summarizing the results of the excavations conducted in Palestine during the last twenty years¹ it has been thought best to discuss (1) the early history of Palestine in the light of these excavations; and (2) the origins of the religion of Israel in the same light.

I. THE EARLY HISTORY OF PALESTINE IN THE LIGHT OF THE EXCAVATIONS

Before taking up the history of Palestine as learned from the excavations, it will be well to call attention to the fact that this country is but a part of what we know today as Syria. Modern Syria extends from the Taurus Mountains on the north to the peninsula of Sinai on the south, and may roughly be divided into four parts. Northern Syria extends from the Bay of Alexandretta to the Eleutheros River, modern Nahr el-Kebîr. The second part, including the Phoeni-

¹ In 1890, Professor Petrie spent six weeks in excavation at Tell el-Hesi, the biblical Lachish. Dr. Bliss continued this work until January, 1893. Cf. Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*. During the years 1898-1900, Dr. Bliss and Mr. Macalister conducted excavations at Tell Zakariya (perhaps the ancient Azekah, or Socoh), Tell es-Sâfi (probably Gath), Tell ej-Judeideh (never identified with any ancient site), and Tell Sandahannah (perhaps Mareshah). (Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*.) Mr. Macalister was engaged in excavating at Abu-Shûshe, the biblical Gezer, from 1902-1905 and from 1907-1909. Provisional reports of these excavations have been published by Mr. Macalister in *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer* and in the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund*. Professor Sellin conducted excavations at Taanach from March, 1902, to March, 1903, and again in 1904, (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek* and *Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Ta'annek*). Dr. Schumacher was engaged in excavating Tell el-Mutesellim, biblical Megiddo, from 1903 to 1905. (Schumacher and Steuernagel, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Part I [Part II has not yet appeared].) In 1907, Professor Sellin began excavations at the site of ancient Jericho, and work was again in progress during the last winter (1909). A preliminary report appeared in *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1907. Harvard University began excavations at Samaria (modern Sebastiyeh) in April of 1908, and resumed work last summer (1909). A preliminary report appears in the *Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1909.

cian coast on the west, and Coele-Syria and the region about Damascus on the east, extends as far south as Tyre. Here the third part begins, namely, Palestine proper, including the Philistine coast and extending as far south as the southeast corner of the Mediterranean. The last part includes the desert et-Tih, the Araba, and the mountains of Petra.² We shall see that these were approximately the political divisions of this region from earliest times.

It may also make for clearness if we call attention in advance to a few general facts in the history of the ancient Orient, in which Palestine and Israel played but a very small part. Arabia seems to have been the original home of the Semites, and from here they went forth in successive waves of migration to the more fertile regions round about. The first of these migrations of which we have any knowledge occurred in prehistoric times, took the Semites into Egypt, and "stamped its essential character unmistakably upon the language of the African people there."³ The next wave must have moved forth from Arabia in the centuries following 3000 B. C. This wave took the Babylonians of the Dynasty of Sargon of Akkad, *ca.* 2500 B. C., into the Euphrates Valley, and perhaps the founders of the Phoenician coast cities to the Mediterranean. The third wave brought the First, or Hammurabi, Dynasty into Babylonia and the Canaanites into Canaan. This occurred in the centuries immediately preceding 2000 B. C. The fourth wave took the Aramaeans into Syria and Mesopotamia, and their kindred tribes, the Hebrews, Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites into Palestine, *ca.* 1500 B. C., while the last wave from Arabia began to move forth in the centuries immediately before the Christian era, and culminated in the great conquests of Islam.⁴ Syria and Palestine lay between the two great civilizations on the Nile and the Euphrates, and must have been influenced by both. But there are two other influences which have received less attention in the past than they deserved, namely, the influence of the Hittite peoples of Asia Minor and that of the "Mediterranean peoples." The former played an important part in oriental history for a thousand years, from *ca.* 2000 B. C. onward, while the influence of the latter began

² Baedeker, *Syria and Palestine*, 1906, p. xlviii.

³ Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 29.

⁴ Cf. Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3d ed., pp. 11 f.

even before the Israelites entered Palestine and culminated in the Hellenistic period of their history. We may now turn to the excavations in Palestine.

The excavations conducted by Mr. Macalister at Abu-Shûshe, the biblical Gezer, have thrown considerable light upon the prehistoric inhabitants of Palestine. The presence of paleolithic and neolithic man in Palestine had been evident from the dolmens and other megalithic remains, the rock-cuttings and cup-holes, the



TELL ES-SÂFI (GATH) FROM THE EAST

worked flints found scattered over the whole country, and most of all, from the enormous complexes of bell-chambers and other subterranean caverns in the neighborhood of Beit-Jibrîn.⁵

At Gezer there was a settlement of neolithic cave-dwellers which spread over a considerable area and was surrounded by a massive earth rampart strengthened by a stone wall two feet thick. In one of the caves the higher portion was reserved for the human occupants,

⁵ Cf. Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 188 f.; Blankenhorn, "Ueber die Steinzeit und die Feuersteinartefakte in Syrien-Palästina," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XXXVII, 447 f.; Vincent, *Canaan*, pp. 373 f.

while a depressed, probably excavated, portion to the side was occupied by their cattle and flocks,⁶ whose pictures were rudely carved upon the walls.⁷ Two small cisterns were also found in this cave, while in another there was discovered a large stone rolled over the entrance to a second cave below, from which in turn passages led off to other rooms on the side.⁸ Still another cave, thirty feet long by twenty-four wide, was used as a burial cave. The remains of calcined bones and a blackened chimney led Mr. Macalister to conclude that these cave-dwellers, whom he regards as non-Semitic,⁹ cremated their dead and left the charred remains, together with food-vessels for the use of the departed, in this cave. The pottery found in these caves was fashioned by hand and sometimes decorated with red and white lines. The implements in use were made of flint and bone.

Neither at Tell el-Hesi nor at Taanach¹⁰ did the excavations reveal any definite traces of neolithic cave-dwellers, while at Tell el-Mutesellim not enough of the surface of the rock was laid bare to determine whether or not they had a settlement there. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence that primitive man—whether Semitic or not cannot be determined—occupied the hill of Mutesellim. The lowest stratum contains a mixture of dark earth, bones, small flint knives, some potsherds and ashes;¹¹ but the fact that no burials were found leaves undetermined the question of the relation of these people to the cave-dwellers at Gezer as well as to the Semites of the strata above. It would seem, however, as if a considerable period of

⁶ Of domestic animals certainly known to these people were the sheep, the cow, the pig, and the goat. Cf. Driver, *Modern Research*, pp. 49 f., where the reports of Mr. Macalister are summarized.

⁷ "These drawings, whatever their origin, are beyond all question the oldest works of art that Palestine has yet produced."—Mr. Macalister, *Quarterly Statement*, 1908, p. 217. The date assigned by Mr. Macalister to these oldest cave-settlements is *ca.* 3500–3200 B. C.

⁸ *Quarterly Statement*, 1908, p. 213.

⁹ This view is based upon the measurements of skulls and bones which show that the cave-dwellers were of a smaller race than their successors, the Semites, and upon the fact that they cremated their dead, a custom particularly abhorrent to Semites. (*Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 108, and following Reports.)

¹⁰ At Taanach caves were found, but they were empty.

¹¹ *Tell el-Mutesellim*, p. 11.



From Petrie, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. IV

EGYPTIANS OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY ATTACKING A SEMITIC CITY

time intervened between the destruction of this earliest settlement and the one succeeding it.

According to Mr. Macalister¹² there are two strata between the earliest Troglodyte caves at Gezer and the inner wall of the city, erected *ca.* 2500 B. C. Both of these strata he regards as belonging to the period of the first Semites. At Taanach¹³ and Tell el-Mutesellim¹⁴ the first permanent settlements with walls of stone and brick as well as buildings of these more permanent materials cannot be placed much before 2000 B. C., that is, not before the Canaanites entered Palestine.

It will be well to turn for a moment to the Egyptian and Babylonian records to see what light they may throw upon the earliest history of Palestine. Both the Palermo Stone and the inscriptions of the Wadi Maghara in the peninsula of Sinai bear witness that already in the First Dynasty, beginning *ca.* 3400 B. C., the Egyptians, who were exploiting the copper mines in Sinai, came in contact with tribes of Beduin,¹⁵ while as early as the Third Dynasty (2980-2900 B. C.) the Egyptians imported cedar wood from the Lebanon¹⁶ and Sahure of the Fifth Dynasty brought back Phoenician captives, whose pictures, on a relief from his pyramid-temple at Abusir, are the oldest pictures of Semitic Syrians which have come down to us.¹⁷

The inscriptions discussed thus far contain no references to conquest of, or intercourse with, the people of Palestine proper, but that Egypt was in touch with this country as well as with Sinai to the south and Phoenicia to the north, is evident from the campaigns of Uni, the general of Pepi I, 2590-2570 B. C., of the Fifth Dynasty. The Asiatic "Sand-dwellers" had become aggressive, and Uni was commissioned to gather an army and march against them. Having done so, he informs us that "this army returned in safety, (after) it had hacked up the land of the Sand-dwellers; this army returned in safety, (after) it had destroyed the land of the Sand-dwellers; this

¹² *Quarterly Statement*, 1908, p. 213.

¹³ *Tell Ta'anek*, p. 101.

¹⁴ *Tell el-Mutesellim*, I, 15.

¹⁵ Cf. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 47 f., and Fig. 28.

¹⁶ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, 66 n. a.

¹⁷ Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 114. The date is *ca.* 2750 B. C.

army returned in safety, (after) it had overthrown its strongholds; this army returned in safety, (after) it had cut down its figs and its vines; this army returned in safety, (after) it had thrown fire in all its [grain-fields];¹⁸ this army returned in safety, (after) it had slain its troops therein, in many ten-thousands," etc.¹⁹ The Sand-dwellers revolted again and again, and Uni was compelled to make five campaigns against them. "When it was said that there were revoltors because of a matter among these barbarians in the land of the Gazelle-nose, I crossed over in troop-ships with these troops, and I voyaged to the back of the height of the ridge on the north of the Sand-dwellers. When this army had been [brought] in the highway, I came and smote them all and every revolter among them was slain."²⁰ Professor Breasted has suggested in a conversation with the writer, that the "Gazelle-nose" is Mount Carmel, and Uni's campaign, in which the troops were transported north of the "ridge," thus extended farther north²¹ than was formerly supposed. Uni speaks of overthrowing the strongholds of these Sand-dwellers. An illustration of such a scene is found on the wall of the tomb-chamber of Anta,²² from about the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. The Egyptians are attacking a walled town occupied by Semites, perhaps located somewhere in Palestine.

From a Babylonian chronicle of late date,²³ but supported by contemporary evidence,²⁴ we learn that Sargon of Akkad, *ca.* 2500 B. C., conducted military operations in the "West" and probably exercised

¹⁸ This suggestion was made to me by Professor Breasted in a conversation.

¹⁹ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, § 313.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, § 315.

²¹ See also Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 121.

²² See illustration (p. 25), from Petrie, *Deshasheh*, Pl. IV.

²³ King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, I, 27 f. The passage in question reads, "The Sea in the *East* he (Sargon) crossed, and in the eleventh year the country of the West in its full extent his hand subdued. He united them under one control; he set up his images in the West; their booty he brought over at (his) word." We shall see that an Omen text used by Winckler to prove that Sargon's conquests extended to the islands of the Mediterranean was based upon the same original as this chronicle.

²⁴ A date on a contemporary document reads, "In the year in which Shargani-Sharri conquered Amurru in Basar." Thureau-Dangin, *die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 224 b.

some sort of control as far west as the Mediterranean. A few hundred years later Gudea had cedars brought from the Amanus mountains, as well as other building material from Amurru, for use in the construction of his temples.²⁵ The name Amurru, usually translated as "West" or "Westland" refers to the country directly back of the Phoenician coast, including the Lebanon on the west and extending eastward past Damascus. There is no evidence for extending Amurru over the whole of Syria and Palestine, and it is therefore



ANCIENT JERICO AND THE MOUNT OF THE TEMPTATION
(The Mound of Jericho lies at the center of the base of the hill to the left)

pure assumption on the part of Winckler and the rest of the pan-Babylonians, when they speak of the conquests of Sargon of Akkad as extending over the whole of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and the islands of the Mediterranean, even, perhaps, the north coast of Africa.²⁶

²⁵ Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

²⁶ The writer of the Omen-tablet, already referred to, misread his original, and had Sargon cross the sea of the *West* instead of the sea of the *East*. In spite of this error, it still remains "selbstverständlich" to Winckler that the Babylonian civilization "must have" spread its influence to the farthest corners of the "West," as interpreted by him;

As indicated above, the Phoenician coast cities may have been founded by the Semites of the first migration of historical times.²⁷ It is evident from the later history of the country that it was here in Syria, north of Palestine proper, that the first states of Syria-Palestine were formed; a fact which is only natural in view of the harbors of this coast. On the other hand, the coast of Palestine has no harbors, and we may be sure that this country did not develop as early nor as rapidly as the region to the north. The campaigns of Uni indicate, however, the possibility of Egyptian control in Palestine as early as 2500 B. C.

The historical events of the next period, that is, from the beginning of the Canaanite settlements to the so-called Amarna period, *ca.* 1400 B. C., may be sketched very briefly. It has been shown by a study of the personal names of this period, as well as by other evidence, that the First Dynasty of Babylon was west-Semitic. Hammurabi subdued Amurru, but there is no evidence that his conquests extended into Palestine. This dynasty came to an end about 1750 B. C. We now know that the Hittites invaded Babylonia during the reign of Samsu-ditana, the last king of the First Dynasty, and that this was the indirect cause of the fall of the dynasty. Sesostriis III,²⁸ 1887—

in fact, Babylonian influence must have encircled the globe. Cf. his *Die babylonische Geisteskultur*, pp. 14 f., and Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, cap. 14. The discussion of the extent of Amurru belongs to Babylonian history, but it is of importance to bear in mind that down to the Assyrian period the name is always limited to the district indicated above, whenever our texts are definite enough for us to draw any conclusions on the point. In Sennacherib's inscriptions Amurru as well as Hatti, that is, the land of the Hittites, are general terms used to designate the countries included in what we know today as Syria. Cf. above, p. 1.

²⁷ It is not to be supposed that the Semites of an earlier migration may not have reached the coast, nor that the Canaanites were the first Semites who came into Palestine. All that we can say from the evidence of the excavations, is that it was under the Canaanites that Palestine made its first great step forward. We must also bear in mind that there has always been a strip of country of varying width between the actual desert and the permanently inhabited districts in which the transition from a nomadic to an agricultural life was going on. The story of Sinuhe's adventures gives us a picture of such a transitional stage for the period *ca.* 2000—1900 B.C., and, as we now know, for the region back of Byblos. Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, §§ 486 f., and Alan H. Gardiner, *Eine neue Handschrift des Sinuhegedichtes*, pp. 7 f.

²⁸ To this period belongs the visit of the Semitic tribesmen led by Absha, depicted in the tomb of Menat-Khufu at Benihasan, Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 158.

1849 B. C., had invaded Syria and Palestine before this time, and shortly thereafter the Hyksos consolidated in Syria, probably at Kadesh²⁹, and gained complete control of Egypt and naturally of the intervening district of Palestine. The Cassites, a foreign people from the mountains northeast of Babylonia, were now in control of the Euphrates Valley. The Hyksos dominion of Egypt came to an end by 1580 B. C., and as soon as the Eighteenth Dynasty had reorganized Egypt, we find the Pharaohs in control of Palestine and Syria,³⁰ and the whole country organized with Egyptian officials in charge.

When we turn to the results of the excavations in Palestine we find, as we should expect, traces of Egyptian influence everywhere. "The style of burial is thoroughly Egyptian, save that the bodies are not embalmed. The scarabs found in these caves³¹ are in sufficient abundance to fix the date of the interments to the period of the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty. There seems thus to have been at the time of this dynasty a settled Egyptian population in South Palestine, about the coast-road to Syria, keeping up, to judge from the style of burial at Gezer, and from two funerary inscriptions found there, Egyptian customs."³² At Mutesellim a lucky chance has preserved for us a large vaulted tomb-chamber untouched by later grave-robbers. Here were found the bodies of five persons in the positions in which they had originally been placed. A large number of scarabs, some of them in gold settings, as well as other ornaments in bronze and stone, show that we have to do with the tomb of a family of importance, perhaps that of the king of Megiddo. Some forty food-vessels were found along the walls of the chamber, and "at the head and feet of the dead, as well as between them, were found a large number of camel's teeth, bowls and plates, flasks and jugs, together with amphoras containing the remnants of the food which had been placed therein for the dead."³³ The scarabs point to the twentieth century B. C.

²⁹ Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

³⁰ This was the result of the campaigns of Thutmose I and Thutmose III, the crowning event being the overthrow of Kadesh on the Orontes.

³¹ Used originally as dwellings by the Troglodytes, but turned into cemeteries by their Semitic successors.

³² Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³³ *Mutesellim*, p. 15.

Scarabs found at Gezer and elsewhere show that the intercourse between Egypt and Palestine did not cease even during the Hyksos period. It was before Megiddo, that is, Tell el-Mutesellim, that Thutmose III met and routed the army of the king of Kadesh and his allies, who had taken possession of this fortress. The booty taken on the field of battle and from the captured city was enormous.³⁴ While Thutmose does not mention taking Taanach, it is probable that a detachment of his troops did so at the time Megiddo was taken.³⁵



COLUMNS OF A TEMPLE, SUPPOSED TO BE HERODIAN, ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE HILL OF SAMARIA

A scarab dating from this period was found in the ruins of the West Tower of the city. The excavations have clearly shown the relative importance of these two places. Megiddo was surrounded by enormous walls of brick and stone and contained large complexes of stone buildings, while at Taanach, as Sellin remarks, the house

³⁴ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 429 f.

³⁵ There were two roads into Esdraelon open to Thutmose, one of which would have brought him out at Taanach. The other, which he chose, brought him out north of Megiddo. The left wing of the army of the Asiatics was in Taanach (*Ancient Records* II, §§ 426 f.).

of the sheik or an effendi stood out in strong contrast to the mud-huts of the other inhabitants; in other words, it was a typical fellahin-village. It is evident from the excavations as well as from the enormous revenue the Pharaohs could collect from Palestine that the population must have reached a high stage of civilization and have been exceedingly prosperous. This fact is also brought out by the Old Testament references to the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land.³⁶

The period we have just discussed is the period of the patriarchs of the Old Testament stories, but since there is nothing in the results of the excavations which lends support to the attempt of such men as Jeremias to prove the existence of Abraham, the "Babylonian," "Canaanite" and "Hebrew," or to regard the Old Testament accounts as "idealized history," whatever that may mean, we may still calmly hold to the critical conclusion which sees in the patriarchs the eponymous heroes of later Israel.³⁷

³⁶ Cf. Jos. 7: 21.

³⁷ The *facts* cited by Jeremias, Winckler, and the rest of the pan-Babylonians are well-known facts of Babylonian and Egyptian history. It is the interpretation of these facts "in the light of the ancient Orient" that cannot be accepted. Space will not permit an adequate discussion of this subject, but we may call attention to the main premises of their argument: (1) The Babylonian "Weltanschauung," i. e., the theory that everything on earth is but a reflection of the movements of the heavenly bodies, was completely worked out before our written documents begin, already in prehistoric times. (2) This "system" permeated the whole of Babylonia, Elam, Arabia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, and even Egypt from earliest times. Both these premises are *assumptions*. That the Babylonians did develop a "Weltanschauung" such as Winckler has worked out will be admitted by anyone acquainted with Babylonian religion and history; but they developed it in the course of their history, and it reached its full development only after the fall of the neo-Babylonian Empire. Jeremias lays great stress on the fact that he has shown that the *background* of the accounts of the patriarchal stories is historical, but here, too, it would be easy to point out fatal errors in his argument. For instance, he holds that the marriage customs of the patriarchs conform exactly to the Code of Hammurabi, but that such customs did not exist in later Israel. One has only to ask, Where is the proof? How about the harems of the later kings?

[To be continued]

JESUS AND HIS BRETHREN

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This title suggests a very old subject of controversy—the family relationship of our Lord to those who are called his “brethren” in the New Testament. With this question, however, we are not concerned in the present article. It is quite indifferent whether the Helvidian, the Epiphonian, the Hieronymian, or the view of Hofmann be correct. It is intended to restrict our investigation entirely to the personal relationship of these brethren to Jesus during his lifetime, and the article seeks to offer, with due hesitation, an explanation of their unbelief. Its general result, here stated at the beginning, is: That Jesus’ brethren, if they were not already disciples of John the Baptist, were at least profoundly influenced by him before Jesus’ baptism, that they regarded Jesus during his lifetime from the Baptist’s point of view, and that their unbelief is the practical embodiment of the latter’s inquiry, “Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?” (Matt. 11:3; Luke 7:19).

The incidents recorded by our four evangelists which are important for our discussion are as follows:

At an early period in his ministry, Jesus removed from Nazareth to Capernaum (Matt. 4:13; cf. Mark 2:1), and according to John (2:12) was accompanied by his mother, his brethren and his disciples. This seems to imply that Jesus and his brethren were still part of one household even after the opening of his ministry. His sisters are not mentioned, and since we learn that long afterward they were still resident in Nazareth (Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3), it is a natural inference that they probably had been married to fellow-townsmen before this removal.

The next incident is more significant. Mark 3:21 ff. informs us that his family¹ came to take him by force, thinking he was beside himself. But when word of the presence of his mother and brethren

¹ For so the papyri show us *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* should be taken; cf. J. H. Moulton, *The Expositor*, January, 1903.

reached Jesus (vss. 31 ff.), he gently repudiated their authority over him in the exquisite definition of the wider and more imperative relationship he bore to the larger brotherhood of the kingdom. The incident shows that Jesus' brethren did not understand him. They took him for an enthusiast, a visionary. It is not clear on what subjects they believed him demented. It may have been in that he thought himself the Messiah, or more probably simply because they regarded his teaching or his conduct as impractical and absurd.

To a certain degree inconsistent with this attitude of restraint is apparently the account of John 7:2-13. The Fourth Evangelist expressly states that Jesus' brethren did not believe on him. Yet toward the close of Jesus' ministry he assigns them the somewhat ironical rôle of urging him to go up to Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles and declare himself the Messiah. The irony, however, may be more due to the evangelist than to the situation; and the brothers' urgency here, and their efforts to restrain Jesus at an earlier period, it seems to us, are part and parcel of one consistent attitude toward him. If we conceive of them as holding a more palpable and catastrophic idea of the kingdom than Jesus did, we can see how they might deem his spiritual teaching and self-abandon visionary, and at the same time consider his reserve in exhibiting his powers and openly declaring his claims as Messiah, in the face of the growing unpopularity, as ruinous in the extreme. It is true they did not believe on him in the pregnant sense of metaphysical unity and ethical intimacy with the Father in which the Fourth Evangelist often uses the word "believe," but their words and actions are not inconsistent with a more elementary kind of faith or doubt—hesitation might perhaps best characterize their attitude. If he was the Messiah, why did he not do the things Messiah should—the things, for example, which John had foretold for him? And their very urgency to have him do them may have grown out of a desire to find in him the Messiah of their hope.

This, we believe, was just the attitude of John himself when from prison he sent his embassy to Jesus. "The ground of John's perplexity lay in the actual contradiction between Jesus' appearance and the picture which John, proceeding upon Old Testament proph-

ecy, had formed of the Messiah's ministry."² God's judgment and his kingdom were inseparably connected in John's preaching—as they were in that of his predecessors, the greater prophets. And where in Jesus' ministry were to John and his followers the signs of the Judge whose "fan" was "in his hand, thoroughly to cleanse his threshing floor" (Luke 3:17)? On the contrary, Jesus taught that the wheat and tares should be allowed to grow together until the harvest (Matt. 13:30). Yet if not for "judgment" and "harvest," for what was Messiah come?

John's programme was a drastic one. There were sides of his teaching which were not so far removed from the opinions of his Zealot contemporaries—certain things were to be accomplished by way of preparation, and then God would interfere. The Zealot and other allied movements of the last seventy years before the destruction of Jerusalem were more messianic than Josephus states or we have been accustomed to believe,³ and John must have stood somewhere in between the supremely ethical and spiritual position of Jesus, and these Zealots, who in their emphasis on the political and catastrophic had almost entirely lost the moral elements of the messianic hope. This last fact explains not only John's own hesitation, but also that of many of his disciples. The case of the two described in John 1:35 f. must have been quite exceptional. John 3:25-30 shows a decided jealousy on the part of John's followers as a whole to the one who had been with their Master "beyond the Jordan," and to whom he had "borne witness." The persistence of a distinct cult of John the Baptist long after the death of Christ (cf. Acts 18:25; 19:1 f.; John 1:19 f.) and, as some have maintained, even to the present day,⁴ proves conclusively that John's disciples did not generally accept Jesus as the Messiah he had foretold. The most obvious explanation for this is that John's messianic ideals were themselves responsible.

Now it seems to us altogether probable that Jesus' brethren were among the number of those deterred from unreserved acceptance of Jesus' claims by the same scruples that hindered John. That they

² Bernard Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, II, 4.

³ Cf. Sharman, *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, pp. 116 f.

⁴ Brückner, *Der sterbende und auferstehende Gottheiland*, p. 48.

were religiously sincere and earnest men, their later lives abundantly prove. Further, they were still members of the same household with Jesus, even after the removal to Capernaum. It is quite inconceivable, therefore, that Jesus could have known John and been baptized by him, without his brothers also coming under his influence. A quotation from the Gospel according to the Hebrews⁵ is suggestive in this connection: "Behold the Lord's mother and brothers said to him, John the Baptist is baptizing for remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them, What sin have I done that I should go and be baptized by him; unless perhaps what I have now said is ignorance?"⁶ Now without pinning our faith unreservedly to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, it is possible to believe that we have here preserved a witness to the fact that the early church regarded Jesus' brethren as having been disciples of John the Baptist, and that in some circles at least there was ascribed to them the first suggestion to Jesus that he should go with them and be baptized.

The saying of Jesus at Nazareth "a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house"⁷ is not necessarily inconsistent with this. Jesus did not count John himself among the members of his kingdom (Matt. 11:11; Luke 7:28)—how could he any more include his brothers if they were only the consistent disciples of John? Indeed, if our contention is correct, it is just because they were John's disciples and shared his messianic ideals that they had difficulty in accepting Jesus as the Messiah. For want of a better explanation, it has been supposed the brethren were too familiar with Jesus personally, or too jealous of his pretensions to acknowledge he was the Christ. Either suggestion does injustice to the spiritual sensitiveness and religious sincerity of a man like James. What pious family in Israel would not have welcomed the discovery of the Anointed in their midst? Their expectation was not burdened with the christological concep-

⁵ Jerome, *Contra Pelag.*, III, 2.

⁶ This incident, though rejected by Findlay (*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, I, 675) is regarded as historical by Harnack (*Chronologie*, I, 648, note 2), Allan Menzies (*Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V, 341) and Oscar Holtzmann (*Life of Jesus*, E. t. pp. 128 f.).

⁷ Mark 6:4; Matt. 13:57 omits "and among his own kin."

tions which in us have probably given rise to these explanations. But if they were sincerely and repentantly awaiting a Messiah come for judgment and recompense—after John's prediction—they must necessarily have withheld allegiance until they saw some token at least of the establishment of the great assize.

The appearance of Jesus to James personally after the resurrection (I Cor. 15:7) is supposed to supply the explanation for the latter's final acceptance of Jesus' messiahship,⁸ and in the lack of other evidence may have to suffice. No record of an appearance to the other brothers comes down to us. Their relationship to Jesus would render them doubtless all members of the circle within which the appearances occurred, and so their final doubts would be dispelled. The larger company of John's disciples, on the contrary, being without this circle, would remain unconvinced, and consequently are found persisting as a distinct cult throughout at least the apostolic age.

Though not to be insisted upon, perhaps some confirmation may be found in the similarity between the figure of John the Baptist and the James of early Christian tradition. The Book of Acts and Paul's Epistle to the Galatians portray James as the outstanding leader of the Jewish wing of the church, and Eusebius' quotation from Josephus (*H. E.*, II, 23) bears testimony to the high regard in which even unbelieving Jews had held him. Hegesippus (Eusebius, *H. E.*, II, 33) goes farthest of all in describing him as a strict Nazarite, noted for his piety and justice among Jews and Christians alike. This representation doubtless is overdrawn; yet Lightfoot thinks there may be truth in the statement that he was an ascetic and a Nazarite, and Zahn (*Introd.*, I, 110, E. t.) accepts the latter as a fact. In any case, no one can deny the striking similarity between his figure (strip it though we may of embellishing details) and the John the Baptist of the gospels.

⁸ The Gospel according to the Hebrews (Jerome, *De viris inl.* 2) implies a faith which antedates the resurrection in ascribing to James a vow that he "would eat no bread from the hour at which the Lord had drunk the cup (of death) till he should see him rising again from those who are asleep." Zahn sees no reason for questioning the historicity of the vow (*Introd.*, I, 110, E. t.), and Menzies (*Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V, 342) thinks "that though the embellishing touches of a later time are unmistakable, the tradition itself has a look of originality and is independent of our New Testament."

If the Epistle of James is to be attributed to this brother of our Lord, as many believe, numerous further parallels with John the Baptist may be added. There is the same preaching of judgment and repentance (cf. James 2:12, 13; 4:12; 5:3, 5, 8, 9 and Jude, vss. 4, 5, 6, 13, 15 with Matt. 3:7), the same invective against social injustice (cf. James 5:4-6; 4:2, with Luke 3:13, 14; Josephus, *Ant.*, 18, 5, 2), the same insistence on sincerity (cf. James 1:22 f.; 2:18; 3:12, 17; 4:17 with Matt. 3:8, 9), and on works of charity (cf. James 2:15, 16 f.; 2:8; 5:13 f. with Luke 3:11), and the same condemnation of slander and false witness (cf. James 4:11; 3:8, 9 with Luke 3:14). Indeed, with the exception of his emphasis on baptism and his description of himself as a voice crying in the wilderness, no point mentioned in the preaching of John by our Synoptic Gospels, but is paralleled in the Epistle of James. Were the authorship of this epistle admitted, the confirmation presented by these parallels would be exceedingly strong.

Our investigation is not without its larger implications. In no problem presented by the New Testament are we more vitally interested than in the development of the religious conceptions of Jesus. We are wont to think of his youth as lonely and isolated; his teaching, on the contrary, shows that he was in reality supremely social. At the summit of that teaching stands the fatherhood of God. How little we know of that person (only a name to us now) who first embodied for him the idea of fatherhood. And among the supreme principles of his thought and life next after this comes brotherhood. To what extent was his conception of it mediated by the fellowship within that little circle of five, whom we know as Jesus and his brethren?

THE JUST SHALL LIVE BY FAITH: HABAKKUK 2:4

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There is no single text in the Old Testament that plays a larger rôle in the doctrinal discussions of the New Testament than this little sentence from the prophecy of the prophet Habakkuk. It was also one of the foundation stones on which Martin Luther built his anti-papal doctrines of the Reformation, and changed the course of church history. Its modern interpretation reflects the utilitarian character of our day, and the method by which its teachings may be entirely fulfilled in everyday living.

In our study of this text we shall discover that the most influential of its interpreters were its first translators, and that the meaning of the verse in later times was largely colored by those early renderings, for a translation at best is an interpretation of the text under treatment.

In any use of such an early translation we have one element of uncertainty that must not be disregarded, viz., we are never sure that we have the original text from which such a translation was made. Since our purpose, however, is not to determine the original text, we shall concern ourselves mainly in ascertaining what the various translators made out of the text which each found at his hand.

Before we shall be able to put a correct estimate on anyone's translation or interpretation, we should discover the purpose of the author in using this text. In other words, what was the prophet's line of thought in which this sentence occurs? What meaning does the context put into this text?

The prophet Habakkuk is predicting the downfall of the Chaldean power, whose invading army shall soon shatter and scatter the remnant of the Kingdom of Judah. He has made a complaint to Jahweh that this wicked invader "swalloweth up the man that is more righteous than he" (1:13); "shall he therefore empty his net, and spare not to slay the nations continually?" (1:17). Figuratively Habakkuk

takes his stand upon a watch-tower and looks to see what answer Jahweh will give to his complaint. The answer comes (2:2-4) and he is commanded to write it plainly so that he who reads it may run and escape from the threatening disaster. The vision will be fulfilled in its own time, and is even now panting in its haste toward fulfilment. It is no pretense nor feint but a real disaster that is certain to come and thus to fulfil the vision which he saw. If it does not come at once, wait for the fulfilment; it shall surely come, and it shall not long delay.

Now in vs. 4 the prophet characterizes the invader, the Chaldean, thus: "Behold, his soul is puffed up [is swollen], it is not upright [straight] in him; but [in contrast with him] the righteous shall live by his faith" (mg., in his faithfulness).

The earliest known interpretation of this passage is found in the Septuagint. The interpreter or translator presents us the third and fourth verses in the following language: "For the vision [is] for a set time, and will come forth at last and not in vain. If he tarry, wait for him, for he will surely come, and will not linger. If he shrink back, my soul has no pleasure in him; but the just shall live by my faith."

The Septuagint translator quite misconceived the true meaning of the passage and seems to have had for the basis of a part of it another Hebrew text. His idea evidently was that if the Chaldean should shrink back from carrying out God's will in invading the territory of the Jewish people, he would certainly forfeit the divine favor. In sharp contrast with him, a righteous person would save himself, would endure by being faithful to the requirements of his God. The "my faith" is probably an error for "his faith," for the real difference in the Hebrew is exceedingly small.

The next important use of this passage we find in three quotations made by the writers of the New Testament. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews enjoins his readers to recall their past history, to remember that their enlightenment by the gospel had been followed by "a great conflict of sufferings" (10:32), that they had been buffeted about by spoilers, and taunted by reproaches. In such sufferings he says (10:35, 36): "Cast not away, therefore, your boldness, which hath great recompense of reward. For ye have need

of patience, that, having done the will of God, ye may receive the promise." In vss. 37, 38, we find: "For yet a very little while, He that cometh shall come, and shall not tarry. But my righteous one shall live by faith: And if he shrink back, my soul hath no pleasure in him." The 39th verse is a further interpretation of the 38th, as follows: "But we are not of them that shrink back into perdition; but of them that have faith unto the saving of the soul."

The author of this Epistle has taken the Septuagint translation and used it from one point of view to convey quite another idea. The translator of the Septuagint apparently describes the coming of God rather than the fulfilment of a vision. In his "he that cometh" (vs. 37) there is evidently a reference to the coming of the Messiah to the earth, often mentioned in the New Testament as the one who is coming to judge the world. Our author seems to see the appearance of the judge so vividly portrayed in Malachi, chap. 3. His coming is in the future and when he shall appear the righteous one (mg.) shall live, shall endure by his faith in God's promise, and in his power to fulfil his word of promise. The second half of vs. 38 is transposed from its order in the Septuagint and is employed here to emphasize the importance of patient endurance in the face of the severe sufferings through which they are now passing. If the Christian should not endure these testings of his faith but should yield to impatience, distrust, disbelief, and should shrink back from the test which should meet him, God will have no pleasure in him, will take no delight in him. In order to stiffen the backbones of his readers, and to give them sound, healthful encouragement, the author of the Epistle adds (vs. 39): "But we are not of them that shrink back unto perdition, but of them that have faith unto the saving of the soul." In other words, the "faith" of the text under consideration is regarded by him as that which is effective toward the saving of the soul. The "live" of the text is synonymous with "salvation."

While the text in the Hebrew of Habakkuk discusses the Chaldean invasion, the certainty and speed of its approach, and the endurance of the just or righteous in the face of it, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews sketches Israel's immediate afflictions and persecutions, and adopts the Septuagint interpretations in a somewhat free manner, by referring "the coming" to the coming of God in judgment, and

to the necessity of remaining steadfast in faith as over against affliction and all that would cause one to shrink back and thus be lost. The real outcome of the two thoughts is practically one and the same, viz., that in the face of the coming disaster the righteous shall endure through his faith.

The next two uses of our text are found in the epistles of Paul, Rom. 1:17 and Gal. 3:11. In the Romans passage including vs. 16, Paul describes the character and effectiveness of "the gospel" in these terms: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel: for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is revealed a righteousness of God from faith unto faith: as it is written, But the righteous shall live by faith." In this use of the Habakkuk text, Paul leaves out of account the original connection in which it is found. In these verses he is defining the power of the gospel, its origin, its scope, and its method in building up believers. The righteousness of God that is revealed in this context may include both of the somewhat divergent views, viz., that (1) this is a righteousness that inheres in God himself and also (2) a righteousness that proceeds from God for the gradual edification of the believer. With his familiar "as it is written," Paul then introduces the words, "The righteous shall live by faith." The whole context leads us to infer that those whom Paul has just described as believers in the gospel constitute the righteous and that these righteous, just ones shall live, that is, endure, by means of this faith. Their belief is unto salvation, to deliverance from the results of unbelief. Hence "to live by faith" is equivalent to endure through belief and trust in God, and thus to possess eternal life (cf. John 3:15, 16). There is not a word in this connection about the much-talked-of doctrine of faith as over against that of works. Paul is simply emphasizing the supreme importance of faith, of "constancy" (Toy), for the eternal endurance of the righteous man. The eighteenth verse helps us realize that the converse of the text is severely true, that the unrighteous man shall perish through his unfaithfulness.

In the third chapter of Galatians Paul is speaking of the efficiency of law and of faith in securing justification. In concluding one section of his argument he says (vss. 9-11): "So then they that are of faith are blessed with the faithful Abraham. For as many as are of the

works of the law are under a curse; for it is written, Cursed is everyone who continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law, to do them. Now that no man is justified by the law before God is evident: for, The righteous shall live by faith." Paul's appeal to this passage in this connection follows a discussion in which he shows that even in Old Testament times and among the patriarchs, faith was a condition of justification, that works of the law could not justify, nor could they be wholly efficient in bringing about the endurance of the righteous man. If the law-keeper should be ever so faithful in observing the minutiae of the law, all would be in vain if he should not exercise faith in God—"steadfast adherence to God in true-hearted obedience" (Toy). While Paul is not comparing the effectiveness of faith and works he is showing that works of the law alone are neither efficient nor sufficient. Paul uses the words of Habakkuk in practically the same sense as the prophet had done, in specifying the characteristic of those who should live, endure perpetually.

The Jewish interpreters, who left for us the Targums of the prophets, have a paraphrase which reads the fourth verse as follows: "Behold the wicked are saying, All these things are not [to be]; but the just shall be established by their faithfulness," when the threatened disaster falls upon the land.

The Vulgate varies a little from the Hebrew. It reads: "Behold, he is unbelieving, his soul is not right within him; the just, however, lives in his faith." That is, this invader, this destroyer who will bring the disaster on the land, has within him a life of non-straightness, of crookedness; but in contrast with him, the righteous man shall through his faithfulness endure to the end. The Talmud says that the 613 precepts which God once delivered from Sinai were collected into this one sentence, "The just shall live by faith."

Luther's one corner-stone of the Reformation, in opposition to the decrees, decretals, and bulls of Rome, was this text. In his interpretation of it, he did not read it, "The just by faith shall live," the man who is made just by his faith, but the one who is just, having been so made by God himself, shall live, endure, through his belief and faith in God. "He who has the feeling in his heart which cleaves to another as faithful and true, and depends upon him, may call it truth

or what he will; but Paul and we do not know another name for such a disposition than faith" (Lange, *Habakkuk*, p. 29). Belief and faith in the church, in popes and decrees, is ineffectual, does not make for endurance, for salvation, for eternal life. Luther's tremendous emphasis upon the main teaching of this text made it a kind of battle-cry of freedom among the German reformers.

The modern interpretation of the text before us involves a little closer study of the Hebrew original than appears in the translations and exegeses already examined. The first part of vs. 4 is everywhere recognized as referring to the character of the Chaldean who is about to invade the land of Israel. The reading of the Hebrew text is in considerable doubt, because the Septuagint, Aquila, and the Targum give us another sense for the word "puffed up." It would appear that the two halves of the verse should stand in contrast with each other. To reach this result many suggestions have been made. If in the word "puffed up," the second and third letters be transposed (*ʿūp-p̄lā* becoming *ʿūl-l̄phā*), and the idea of the Targum be introduced in the first line, we have, according to Marti's suggestion, "Behold the wicked, his soul in him has languished," that is, has fallen down dead. In contrast with the death of the wicked would be the statement of the second part of the verse: "But the just shall live through his faithfulness." However acute this suggestion may be, the text nevertheless is uncertain. Taking the Massoretic reading as we find it, there is an implied comparison which a fair interpretation cannot resist. This "puffed up" one whose soul is not right in him shall not be able to stand before the invader. He shall perish at the first stroke of the invader, "but the righteous shall live by his faithfulness."

The second part of the verse is broader and more comprehensive than was recognized by the older interpreters. "The just," "the righteous" are such as are in the right, have right on their side. The idea is rather forensic, and belongs to a court of law. In a trial in court, the righteous man was the one who had the right on his side (cf. Isa. 1:18; 43:26). In its primitive sense it was merely a juridical right, with no idea of ethical righteousness. Gradually this idea of right conduct clothed itself with a moral and religious character, for it extended to and included such right conduct toward God, and toward his creatures. "The just," the "righteous" of

the Old Testament is scarcely more than what we call "sincerity," nor "more than what the New Testament calls a true heart, even when estimated at its highest" (Davidson, p. 275). The "righteous" man is then the true, sincere one whose words and works are in full harmony with the laws of right and so of God.

"Shall live by his faithfulness": Paul adopted the Greek and other versions, and rendered the last word "faith," and confined it apparently to the act of believing unto salvation as seen in Romans (1:16, 17). The Hebrew term used is much larger than faith, and carries in itself the idea of firmness, steadfastness, faithfulness. It is used of the holding-up of Moses' hands by Aaron and Hur (Exod. 17:12): "his hands were steadiness"; of the stability of the times (Isa. 33:6); of the trustworthiness of one in office (II Kings 22:7); of an office as a trust (I Chron. 9:22, 26); in connection with righteousness (Prov. 12:17); and of right conduct in general. The basis of its meaning is the verb to "believe," and in its many connections to believe in God. The root-idea of the noun is belief in, and faithfulness exercised toward, God in true whole-hearted obedience. A righteous one permeated by such characteristics shall live, shall endure; and to add the Hebrews idea, shall endure affliction and reproaches with patience and long-suffering. The righteous man through his faithfulness shall live perpetually.

JESUS' IDEAL OF LIFE¹

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The attitude which Jesus assumed toward life made him the most renowned person in history. Mankind's chief problem is how to live. He who in the ancient world threw most light upon this problem came rightly to be counted the supreme example, teacher, and helper of men. Jesus so profoundly impressed some of his hearers with his ideal of life that they became his disciples, caught his spirit, learned his message, imitated his conduct. Through their labors, after the close of Jesus' public ministry, the gospel was spread far and wide, winning many adherents, until three hundred years later it became the dominant religion of the Mediterranean world.

Jesus' followers of the first, second, and third generations made much use of his words and deeds in preaching the gospel, impressing others as they had themselves been impressed with the strength and loftiness of his character, the truth and value of his teaching, the power and helpfulness of his career. These accounts of what he said and did and was, circulated orally in the first generation, starting in Aramaic and later being put over into Greek also for the non-Palestinian peoples who knew only Greek. Toward the close of the first generation the memorabilia of Jesus were being gathered into collections, for the fuller giving of the story of Jesus to old and to new converts. One of these collections (technically called the Logia, or the Document Q), was probably in Aramaic and was attributed to the apostle Matthew. Another collection was made by a Jerusalem Christian whom we know as Mark, but in the Greek language and for the gospel mission outside of Palestine.

During the second and third generations after Jesus the collecting of the memorabilia continued, and many persons² drew up written accounts of Jesus' ministry because of the great interest they felt in

¹ This article deals with a portion of Matthew's Gospel included within the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for January and February, 1910.

² Luke 1:1-4: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us even as they delivered

Christianity and its Founder, and out of their desire to teach the gospel to an ever-increasing number in the Roman empire. Among these several gospels of the second and third generations were to be found the Gospel of Luke and the Gospel of Matthew. And when in the last half of the second century the Christians arrived at a decision as to which of the earlier collections of the words and deeds of Jesus' life should be most esteemed and used, the collections by Mark, Luke, and Matthew³ were three of the four that finally became canonized.

Jesus' ideal of life is most fully and satisfactorily set forth in the Gospel of Matthew.⁴ The particular concern of the book is to present the *message* of Jesus, and its characteristic feature is the five great discourse sections—chaps. 5-7, 10, 13, 18, 23-25. The first of these contains what we are accustomed to call the Sermon on the Mount, setting forth the True Righteousness; the second contains the seven parables concerning the Nature and Principles of the Kingdom; in the third section we have the Mission-Teaching of Jesus; in the fourth stands the teaching on Humility and Forgiveness; the fifth section contains the teaching against the Pharisees and Scribes, and the Eschatological teaching. Of these five great discourses,⁵ the one in chaps. 5-7 was given the foremost place in the them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed."

³ Not the collection of the first generation called above the Logia, but a later and much fuller work written in Greek. This Greek gospel, however, used the Logia (or Document Q) as one of its chief sources, and seems to have been known as the Gospel according to Matthew because of this relationship that it sustained to the earlier collection with which the name of Matthew was connected.

⁴ The considerable tendency at the present time to prefer the Lukan form to that of Matthew in parallel passages (e. g., the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer) is perhaps more often mistaken than correct, even though the Gospel of Matthew may have been the latest of the three Synoptics, and may contain some passages that are accretions to the original memorabilia of Jesus, and may be less original than Luke at some points in the wording and arrangement of the material.

⁵ For convenience we call them "discourses." It is not, however, understood that Jesus upon the occasions indicated gave just this material. What we have in every case is just *excerpts* from his discourses, and with these excerpts from a given occasion there have been grouped in the Gospel of Matthew teachings from other occasions in the public ministry.

book because the author regarded it as the most important. This estimate was well founded. Jesus' teaching here recorded was the most vital, most helpful, and most distinct portion of his message because it especially set forth his ideal of life. In the other discourses too this ideal may be seen in some of its aspects; but nowhere else in Matthew—indeed, nowhere else in the New Testament—is there so comprehensive and explicit an exposition of Jesus' thought about man, his potentiality, his duty, and his God. A practical way to judge whether this is the fact is by considering that no other portion of Jesus' teaching is so well known, so often read, and so much appealed to for the fundamental principles of life and for the essentials of Christianity.

The Sermon on the Mount is generally understood to have been an actual discourse of Jesus, delivered under the circumstances indicated in the gospels of Matthew and Luke.⁶ The two accounts⁷ are parallel, probably reporting the same occasion and teaching. Luke is much briefer than Matthew,⁸ but his discourse has the same theme as Matthew's—the True Righteousness, or the Ideal Life. Both reports begin with the Beatitudes and end with the parable of the Two House-Builders; the intervening teaching also corresponds. Matthew gives much the fuller account of the Sermon, and enables us to see much better the presentation which Jesus gave of his ideal. Of especial importance is the larger number of Beatitudes, the major portion of Matt. 5:13-48, and the entire chap. 6. It seems likely that some verses in the Matthew discourse belonged originally to other occasions. In the course of transmission and use it was sometimes found convenient to gather the scattered teachings into topical groups for public and private reading. Matt. 6:7-15 and 7:6-11 seem to be instances of such grouping rather than original portions of the Sermon, as they break the logical and literary continuity of

⁶ Matt. 4:23-5:1; 7:28-8:1; Luke 6:12-20; 7:1.

⁷ Matt. 5:3-7:27; Luke 6:20-49.

⁸ The Matthew account contains 107 verses, the Luke account 29 verses. Twenty-three and one-half of these Lukan verses are found in the Matthew Sermon (where they make 26 verses). Of the remaining 81 verses in Matthew, 34 are present in other portions of Luke's Gospel (chaps. 11-16), while 47 verses have no parallel anywhere in Luke. In other words, four-ninths of the Sermon in Matthew is given only by him.

the discourse; this may also be true of Matt. 5:25, 26, 31, 32; 6:19-34; 7:22, 23. However, the theme and general development of the Sermon are the same, whether or not these portions belonged to the original discourse; for the *nucleus* of the Sermon is unaffected.

Some scholars⁹ hold that the entire section (Matt., chaps. 5-7) is composite, a topical grouping of teachings from various parts of Jesus' ministry, without even the nucleus of an actual address. On this view the apparent historical setting is a literary method of giving concreteness and reality to the teaching. If this hypothesis should prevail, no serious result would follow; because the teachings would be no less from Jesus, though collected from several different sermons. The important thing is that Jesus gave these teachings, and it matters little whether they were originally spoken in this or that month or year. But the great majority of scholars still understand that there was an actual Sermon on the Mount,¹⁰ as the gospels narrate.

The occasion of the Sermon, as stated by Luke,¹¹ was the appointment of the twelve apostles. Jesus had been carrying on his ministry in Galilee for some time, until the people were thoroughly aroused. They came to him in throngs,¹² with eagerness to hear and with enthusiasm for this new leader and teacher who "taught them as one having authority and not as the scribes." The popular success of the ministry made it desirable for Jesus to select some suitable men to assist him in his work.¹³ And it was particularly appropriate that he should on this occasion set forth, to these newly appointed apostles

⁹ H. J. Holtzmann, Weizsäcker, Heinrici, Jülicher, Schmiedel, J. Weiss, *et al.*

¹⁰ The exact place or scene of the Sermon is not known. It was some sloping hillside near Capernaum (Luke 6:12, 17; 7:1). The term "mountain" (*ὄρος*) here designates the higher land back from the shore of the Sea of Galilee. The traditional site at the "Horns of Hattin" is but one of several suitable places in the vicinity of Capernaum, and this identification was not made until the thirteenth century.

¹¹ Luke 6:12-17. Matthew does not narrate the appointment of the Twelve, but later names them as apostles (Matt. 10:2-4) when they are about to go upon their mission. Matthew's time for the Sermon does not conflict with Luke's representation of the time when it was given, because Matthew too understands (4:23-25) that the Galilean ministry had reached its height.

¹² Matt. 4:23-25; 7:28-8:1; Luke 6:17-19.

¹³ Mark 3:14 reads: "He appointed twelve that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach."

and to the multitude who hung upon his words, the ideal of life which constituted his message. Over against the conception of righteousness which the regular teachers of his day inculcated out of the written and oral law, he would set a higher, freer, truer, and more helpful conception of righteousness, which by his own moral sense and spiritual insight he knew to be a better expression of God's will for men. This occasion of the appointment of the Twelve was not the first time he had undertaken to show the people what true righteousness was, for in one way or another this had been the main feature of all his teaching during the preceding Galilean ministry. But now he put the whole matter before apostles and people in a fuller, more systematic, and more impressive way than the conditions had previously permitted.

The theme and outline of this most noted and most important discourse of Jesus may be indicated as follows:¹⁴

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

AS RECORDED BY MATTHEW AND LUKE

Theme: The Ideal Life:¹⁵ Its Characteristics, Mission, and Outworkings, and the Duty of Attaining It.

	Matthew	Luke
I. The Ideal Life Described	5:1-16	6:20-26
1) its characteristics	5:1-12	6:20-26
2) its mission	5:13-16	
II. Its Relation to the Earlier Hebrew Ideal	5:17-20	
III. The Outworkings of the Ideal Life	5:21-7:12	6:27-42
1) in deeds and motives	5:21-48	6:27-30, 32-36
2) in real religious worship	6:1-18	
3) in trust and self-devotion	6:19-34	
4) in treatment of others	7:1-12	6:31, 37-42
IV. The Duty of Living the Ideal Life	7:13-27	6:43-49

One may say that this discourse epitomizes the whole message of Jesus. It is also true that the first section of this discourse, the Beatitudes,¹⁶ constitutes an epitome of all that the Sermon contains;

¹⁴ I use the same statement as in my article on the Sermon on the Mount in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, V, 1-45.

¹⁵ This is a modern phrase corresponding to the technical term "Righteousness," which the Jews used, and which Jesus used in this Sermon (Matt. 5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33).

¹⁶ Matthew has eight (some count them seven) Beatitudes, while Luke has but four. The four of Luke are included in the eight of Matthew, but Matthew's addi-

for this reason it fittingly stands at the head. Jesus does not re-enact the Ten Commandments of the Old Law, to make them the most concise expression of his message. Nor does he propose a *new* Table of Commandments. He adopts—not the statutory form, not the prohibitory type, of teaching—but the *Beatitude*, “Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” In these eight Beatitudes¹⁷ Jesus declares the characteristics of the ideal life; he pictures the feeling, thought, purpose, and conduct of such persons as would be truly righteous. It is with remarkable beauty, clearness, and force that he describes the qualities which make for an ideal humanity, which are determinative of one’s personality and career. And the characterization awakens a response in the earnest soul: “This is the kind of man that I ought and wish and purpose to be.”

Having set forth in this summary way his ideal of life, Jesus states (Matt. 5:13–16) what the function or mission of such living is. Persons of these qualities are “the salt of the earth” and “the light of the world”; that is to say, mankind is to be saved, human well-being is to be achieved, society is to be perfected by this kind of people. Therefore such men have the highest service to perform for their fellow-men and for God. They are to be torch-bearers to illumine the way of life, they are to be ministers of righteousness to their generation and the race. This is the supreme work, the one thing worth doing, Jesus would say; and so he exhorts men to let their light so shine.

But how did this ideal of life, this doctrine of righteousness, stand related to that which the Old Testament taught and current Judaism stood for? The Galilean multitude felt and saw that here was a new teaching; and the scribes and Pharisees were not slow to charge Jesus with rejecting—indeed destroying—the law and the prophets. tional four do not appear anywhere in Luke. Further, Luke has four Woes, stating the obverse of his four Beatitudes. Matthew does not have these four Woes, either in the Sermon on the Mount or elsewhere; but the Woe form of expression is frequent in the First Gospel, and the twenty-third chapter contains a classical series of seven Woes against the Pharisees and scribes.

¹⁷ There is a preference on the part of some scholars for the Lukan number, form, and meaning of the Beatitudes. In general it would seem that the Matthew account is to be preferred over Luke, as has been done on practical grounds from the second century to the present time. The argument for Matthew’s account on historical grounds is stated in Hastings’ *Dictionary of the Bible*, V, 14–22.

Jesus met this charge with the affirmation: "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets; I came not to destroy, but to fulfil." He does not mean that he will himself render a complete obedience to the whole Old Testament law, and enjoin such obedience upon others. He means that upon the foundation of the Old Testament teaching he will build a higher exposition of God's will for men. He means that the moral-religious ideal and message of the law-givers and the prophets was in the right direction, but that he is able to carry forward still farther the revelation of human possibility and duty. Using the best that the previous centuries had achieved in the construction of a moral and religious ideal, and holding to the writings in which this ideal was formulated and mirrored, he would give men a still higher conception of how life should be lived. Jesus did not set aside the Old Testament. Nor did he promulgate it as the Pharisees and scribes were accustomed to do. He adopted a discriminating attitude toward it; on the one hand, he saw the truth and wisdom in its fundamental moral-religious qualities and teachings, and he assumed these for his own message; on the other hand, he recognized the limitations and defects which had come into the Old Testament from the imperfections of the persons and times that produced it, and these he corrected or set aside.

Jesus then goes on (Matt. 5:21-48) to show specifically how the Old Testament and current Judaism fail to give an adequate ideal, failed to reach the deeper sin of men. The Sermon as given in the First Gospel furnishes five concrete illustrations of what Jesus had in mind in defining the relation of his teaching to that which had gone before.

1. The Sixth Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," is held to be good as far as it goes, since it forbids murder; but it does not sufficiently indicate the sinfulness of ill-feeling and ill-will; it does not forbid the hatred out of which murder springs. Undoubtedly the makers of the Old Testament law did regard hatred and evil intent as sinful, but the commandment does not explicitly condemn and prohibit them.¹⁸

¹⁸ A still more serious limitation lies in the *negative* aspect of this and others of the Ten Commandments. They forbid bad things, but the opposite *good* things they do not indicate and enjoin. That a man should love, forgive, and serve his fellow-man, not simply refrain from harming him, is not said in the Ten Commandments. Jesus

2. The Seventh Commandment "Thou shalt not commit adultery," was also good as far as it went; it explicitly forbade the violation of the marriage relationship. It condemns the wrong act, but it does not specifically condemn the wrong desire and motive behind the act, and which may exist without the act. Jesus sets up a higher standard by condemning explicitly and strenuously the lust of the flesh. He insists upon a strict morality in sex matters, and exalts the ideal of marriage as a permanent and inviolable union.

3. The custom of the oath, as an attestation that one was speaking the truth, had been habitual throughout Hebrew history and the ancient world.¹⁹ Jesus looked upon the oath as establishing a double standard of speech; when one spoke with the oath one must tell the truth; but if one spoke without the oath, he did not consider himself required to tell the truth. The practice of the oath had indeed reached the point where some oaths were regarded as binding one to speak the truth, while other oaths did not—allowing of deception and evasion. Jesus set aside the oath entirely, on the ground that men should always speak the truth—misrepresentation and deception were always wrong.

4. The *lex talionis*, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," grew up previous to the formation of the Old Testament law and was adopted into that law, as a means of limiting private revenge. It marked a distinct advance upon the earlier custom of furiously avenging wrongs. The principle of measured retribution—and, when practicable, "in kind"—was established as fundamental in the Old Testament law, and underlay the interpretation and administration of the law in Jesus' day.²⁰ He pointed the way to a still

summed up the Old Testament in love to God and love to man (Matt. 22:34-40; cf. 7:12). Paul also: "The whole law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Gal. 5:14). Jesus gave his teachings chiefly in the positive, constructive form, as is seen in the Beatitudes.

¹⁹ The Ten Commandments themselves recognized the use of the oath, and the Third of them (as ordinarily interpreted) was intended to keep men from violating their oaths, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."

²⁰ The *lex talionis* is still the foundation of modern jurisprudence, but retribution is less often made in kind. The humane spirit has progressed and has modified the application of justice. We can now see the beginnings of a new era in law, when love and helpfulness will determine our treatment of the delinquent classes instead of vengeance and punishment.

higher conception of law, to a better way of treating those who did wrong, namely, to love, forgive, and help them. His teaching in Matt. 5:38-42 is often spoken of as his "non-resistance" teaching, because the English translation reads "Resist not, etc." This translation, however, gives the wrong idea. Jesus is not against law, but against the *lex talionis* conception of law. What he means is, "Revenge not yourself upon him who does you wrong." Do not retaliate, do not "pay back" injury, do not return evil for evil. On the contrary, be willing to endure abuse from others because of your love for them and your desire to promote their well-being. Do not let anything stand in the way of your loving service to your fellow-men.²¹

5. In the verses that immediately follow (Matt. 5:43-48), concluding this primary division of the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus announces the principle of love as determinative for the gospel message. He would have men feel and act lovingly toward one another, even when these others did not feel and act lovingly toward them. In other words, our attitude and conduct toward other men is not to be adjusted to their treatment of us, but is to be adjusted to the principle of love and service which we are to make the guide of our lives. The man who leads the ideal life is therefore the man who loves every one of his fellow-men, and acts always in accordance with his love. This, Jesus says, is the way God feels and acts toward all men. It is the road to the true righteousness and the universal brotherhood.

The Sermon farther on contains still another section on this same subject (Matt. 7:1-12). Here Jesus teaches that men are not to be critical and fault-finding in their attitude toward each other, continually passing unsympathetic judgment upon the thoughts, feelings, words, and acts of their fellows. Since a man has faults in himself—more serious faults perhaps than those of his neighbor—it behooves him to be gracious and considerate in all his dealings with other men. A good way to decide how you should treat others, Jesus says, is to

²¹ Paul stood stoutly for the same principle: "Render to no man evil for evil. Take thought for things honorable in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, be at peace with all men. Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto wrath: for it is written: Vengeance belongeth unto me; I will recompense, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good" (Rom. 12:17-21).

consider how you yourself would like to be treated by them. This "Golden Rule," as we call it, is an admirable practical test of duty, which may be often and helpfully applied to the daily conduct. The purpose of the teaching is certainly not to establish a system of mutual exchange on the basis of "you be good to me and I'll be good to you"; the non-retaliation teaching just observed prevents such an understanding. Goodness is to set out from the individual, not seeking a return in kind; a *quid pro quo*, but from the purpose to love and serve others. There can be no conditions or relations in life where the principle of love, unselfishness, does not apply or stand imperative. Persons in the industrial, commercial, political, and social pursuits are as much under obligation to recognize and live by this principle as persons in the home or church or school. Being good and doing good, everywhere and all the time, is an equal ideal for all—it is the higher law for humanity. Jesus stands pre-eminent for having made this principle clearer and more effective.

Two remaining teachings as to the ideal life are set forth in the Matthew Sermon (6:6-18, 19-34). Jesus finds some of the worship of his day to be ostentatious and self-seeking, aiming to elicit the praise of men for great piety. Jesus would have men offer their worship to God in the simple and sincere purpose of reverence to him and communion with him. Instead of worshiping to be seen of men, to receive the "glory of men," people must worship for the purpose of entering into true relations with God. Alms-giving, prayer, and fasting were the three great acts of worship among the Jews, and Jesus spoke of each in turn, using the same formula to show how these acts might be rightly done.

And Jesus lays upon men the obligation to live for the kingdom, saying: "Seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness" (Matt. 6:33); that is, the righteousness that characterizes the kingdom of God. This righteousness Jesus defined and illustrated in all his teaching, embodied in his acts, and exemplified in his character. He does not mean that there are two things to seek: first, the kingdom; second, material things. There is but one thing to live for—the kingdom of Righteousness; everything else is to be contributory to that. Material things are to be only a means toward that end, and are to have no pursuit for their own sake. Men are to lay up treasures

in heaven, not upon the earth; that is, they are to live and work for the moral and spiritual realities, not for the transient comforts, pleasures, and possessions of the material world. Earthly treasures may be destroyed or stolen; heavenly treasures abide, and one may live forever in the joy and blessing of them. The teaching of Jesus, here as elsewhere, is to be understood as setting forth a great principle of the ideal life which men are to apply with practical reason.²² He would have men entirely devoted to the highest living, free from wearing anxiety as to what the next day or year may bring forth, putting their trust in the all-wise, all-powerful, and all-loving Father.

Taking as a whole the teachings contained in the Sermon on the Mount, we have the most beautiful and inspiring ideal of life that mankind possesses. It has shone through the centuries since Jesus as the guiding-star of civilization, and stands today as the finest vision of the human ideal. With all our aspiration and our striving we have made only a beginning toward its realization. Individually and collectively, men must go on to attain the kind of life which Jesus describes. The principles which he set forth must prevail in human living, and by their transforming power bring in the kingdom of God.

²² The necessity of food, clothing, and shelter was obvious to Jesus (Matt. 6:25-34). The value to character and efficiency of modern education, culture, travel, etc., could not in the first century have been foreseen. All those things are to be regarded as right and good for us that increase our moral and spiritual quality and power. The material resources of the earth are to be developed and put to use for the well-being of men. This is in accordance with Jesus' idea and purpose in this teaching.

THE MINISTRY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE BEGINNING OF JESUS' MINISTRY¹

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John the Baptist held sharply defined views as to how Jehovah was to become King of his people, as to the method by which the real kingdom of Jehovah was to be constituted. By an act of judgment, by the absolute separation of righteous from wicked, by the annihilation of the unrighteous, by the gathering of the worthy into a compact community made homogeneous through the complete elimination of all unworthy ones—thus was the reign of righteousness on the earth to be realized. And the agent of this activity was to be Jehovah's Messiah, the Lord's Anointed. For the present and under John's hands it was a baptism with water, but the Coming One would baptize with fire. His period was to be a period of wrath—"the wrath to come." His demand was to be for good fruit, else "cast into the fire." His activity was to be for the utter extinction of those who remained unrighteous—"He will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire." John's programme for the establishment of the kingdom of God was a drastic one. It can be found admirably summarized in Jesus' parable of the Tares and the Wheat. From the same parable one "who hath ears to hear" may learn also Jesus' attitude toward John's conception of the kingdom, may learn this "mystery of the kingdom," namely, that God never was and never will gain any real dominion over men by so external a programme, that it is not his hope or purpose to constitute a community wholly righteous—"until the harvest."

Obviously with such an outlook upon the future, with such a conviction as to the conditions of admission to the blessedness of that future, John's call was for repentance, for deeds worthy of repentance, for righteousness, for fitness to stand before the winnowing process of the Coming One. His work was an ethical revival, the introduc-

¹ This study covers the International Sunday-School Lessons for January 2, 9, and 16.

tion of a fresh moral earnestness into conduct and into religion. It was the awakening and the stimulating of religious expectation. It recalled prophetic fears and fervors. The ascetic life, the unrestrained denunciatory ardor of the man, his rough handling of their religious sophistries, his aloofness from the common life and the conventional standpoint and standards, his fearlessness before his certainty of an impending judgment, the equality of his moral demand upon prince

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JOHN THE BAPTIST

and pauper—these and other uncommon characteristics gained for John a prophet's hearing and a prophet's influence.

Into the movement initiated by John, Jesus threw himself with ardor. Always most interested "in the things of his Father," Jesus seems to have discerned the Father's hand in the quality of John's work. In common with others he indicated his attitude toward John's efforts by definitely attaching himself to his company. It is to the work of John apparently that one must attribute that determinative thinking by Jesus which resulted in the conviction he

formed as to his definite place in the plans of God. At some subsequent period in his life, some period when Jesus spoke without restraint to his closest associates, he seems to have indicated to them that the occasion of his alliance with John's movement was the acute stage in his reflection as to his own possible part in the realization of the hopes awakened by John. Perhaps in the moment of moral and religious exaltation begotten by the act of definite association with a powerful and expectant national awakening, the moment of participation in the baptism of John, there flashed upon the consciousness of Jesus, as never before, the suggestion as to his own place in the actualization of the national longings now revived by John.

Studied in isolation there may be more than one apparently possible meaning for the baptism experience of Jesus. Taken in conjunction with what followed immediately, the so-called temptation of Jesus, certain interpretations of the baptism are found to be untenable. For temptation and baptism seem parts of a single experience, the one a cause, the other a result; the one a call to a vocation, the other a consideration of the features of that vocation; the one an inspiration, the other a reflection; the one a flashlight upon a career, the other a close, cold, calm scrutiny of the ultimate realities involved in that career. Here it seems less accurate to affirm that we are watching a man under temptation than to believe that we are looking upon the drama involved in an adjustment between two conceptions of the form a vocation should take—neither conception morally reprehensible, but only one based on an accurate knowledge of how God acquires dominion.

Under the figures in which Jesus chose to relate to his friends some of the problems that confronted him when making choice of his life-work it is not difficult to discern the features of the current messianic hope—the belief that the Messiah was to rule all the kingdoms of the world, the confidence in the invulnerability of the Messiah under any and all physical conditions, the expectation that the age of the Messiah would mean a return to Garden of Eden conditions where bread would be had without labor. Such views possessed the contemporaries of Jesus. Were they right? To find one's self against the whole flow of current thinking, to conceive of God's methods in terms opposed to those everywhere held, to find no satisfaction in a

generally accepted programme for the representative of Jehovah, and yet to be possessed by an unquenchable conviction that one understands God and is qualified to speak as his representative—forty days for adjustment seems time short enough. And it resulted in Jesus keeping the integrity of his own intellect, refusing to loose his own grasp upon God's truth, resolving to abide with his own convictions as to God's ways with men.

It is easy highly to resolve. Resolution may pass without strain into action if the action is of a kind generally expected. If it is historically accurate to conclude from the temptation that Jesus purposed action in his vocation that was original, it becomes supremely interesting to know how he began. If he considered himself called to be the Christ of expectation, no harm could come from being acknowledged as such; if, on the other hand, he was conscious of being possessed by new conceptions, he would hardly choose to make claims or awaken hopes by talking in messianic phraseology. Just how Jesus did begin is not related by Matthew; probably Matt. 4:17 is intended rather more as a comprehensive summary of Jesus' teaching than as the substance of his opening message. Perhaps there may be found in Luke 4:16-22 the record of the method of Jesus. The Isaian passage obviously is not a forecast, much less a delineation, of the work of the Christ. But it is a glowing, splendid, vital voicing of one's sense of prophetic vocation—"the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, he anointed me to preach, he hath sent me to proclaim." Thus it is seen that Jesus gained a hearing for himself not by promises, not by an announcement of something impending, not by any appeal to the easily aroused hopes of his people, not by the proclamation of himself as the Christ, not by stupendous claims—save that he expressed himself as conscious of being irresistibly impelled by the Spirit of his God to speak for God. Such a claim did not commit him in advance to this or that view of the work of the Christ, to this or that view of the nature of the kingdom of God. He was a prophet, with a prophet's freedom either to reaffirm the old or to reveal the new. As such, his reception would be determined by the inherent appeal of his message, not by the authority resident in a claim for his person. At least in the initiation of his public activity, Jesus proceeds with caution, with modesty, yet with abounding and sustaining conviction.

And this conviction wrought conviction in others. What he had to say he said with a straightforwardness and directness that was refreshingly different from the circumspect, hesitating, dependent manner of the regular religious teachers of the time. His authority for his utterance was within himself, generated and directed, as he conceived it, by the Spirit of his Father. Such a manner in an age of external religious authority naturally drew multitudes of eager hearers. So great did these speedily become that extraordinary measures were necessary to reach the large audiences. It seems to have been from the friendships formed by the exigencies of one of these occasions that there came some of those who earliest attached themselves to Jesus. The scene is hardly sketched with enough detail in Matt. 4:18-22 to make the narrative seem lifelike and intelligible. But the whole course of affairs and the not unnatural outcome may be gathered from an examination of Luke 5:1-11. Not a very promising, certainly not a spectacular, beginning for the work of an individual commissioned to found a kingdom, one would say! But perhaps such a judgment proceeds from an ignorance of "the things of God," a failure truly to apprehend "the mystery of the kingdom of God."

BOOKS ON THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

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During the year 1910 several million Sunday-school boys and girls, ministers, parents, and teachers of America will be studying the Gospel of Matthew, under the direction of the International Lesson Committee's uniform system. There will be those who wish to study this scripture book historically, systematically, and thoroughly. Some of the books suitable for this purpose may be named and characterized. They may be arranged in four groups:

1. *Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew*.—The latest commentary on Matthew is by the English scholar, Rev. Alfred Plummer, D.D., entitled *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew* (Scribner's, New York, 1909, pp. 497, \$3). Probably this new book is for general purposes the best large commentary on Matthew in English;¹ it is full, conservative, devout, scholarly, and useful for the earnest Bible student. One might have supposed that the volume on Matthew in the International Critical Commentary series would be the best commentary on Matthew in English. And so it might have been if Rev. W. C. Allen, the author, had presented us with a general commentary on the Gospel. Instead, when his book appeared, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew* (Scribners, New York, 1907, pp. 434, \$3) it was seen to be a work upon the literary criticism of the Gospel, with but a small amount of historical and exegetical treatment. Certainly such a study of the First Gospel was needed, and it was admirably done; but a work upon such lines could not serve a large public whose Bible-study is unspecialized. This statement is necessary concerning Allen's commentary because all the other volumes of the series to which it belongs are general and widely useful commentaries.

Until these two books appeared within the last two years, the

¹ The great commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew in German are by B. Weiss, H. J. Holtzmann, and Th. Zahn.

English reader had been dependent upon the much older books by the American scholar, Dr. J. A. Broadus, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1887, pp. 610, \$2), and the Scottish scholar, Dr. James Morison, *Practical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1st ed. 1870; 9th ed. 1895; pp. 674, 14s.). Both of these extensive books were designed for homiletical use, and continue to be valuable for the devotional and practical study of Matthew. The historical and critical problems of the Gospel may be better studied elsewhere; even Plummer's commentary leaves some things to be desired in this direction.

Of the small commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew, two may be mentioned: Carr, *Commentary on St. Matthew*, in the Cambridge Bible series (Macmillan, New York, \$1); and Slater, *Commentary on St. Matthew*, in the New-Century Bible series (Henry Frowde, New York, 90 cts.). Both are excellent little books, the latter of them the more recent.

2. *The Life of Jesus*.—One wishes in studying either of the four gospels to study the life of Jesus comprehensively. Commentaries are not written to present Jesus in this way, so the student of Matthew will need a Life of Jesus in addition. First, with regard to the large works on this subject. Of the older and conservative treatises in English one may name as most useful: Weiss, *The Life of Christ* (Scribners, New York, 1883-89, 3 vols., \$6.75), a fine historical work, in some respects still the best; and Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1887, 2 vols., \$2), which is full of local color and religious fervor. More recently the most important book is by Oscar Holtzmann, *The Life of Jesus* (Macmillan, New York, 1904, pp. 556, \$4). If one is looking for a modern critical and historical treatment of the life of Jesus, scholarly, progressive, and reasonable, Holtzmann's book is probably the best; but it must be said that there is much disagreement among the present interpreters of Jesus, and as yet no book can be counted final or entirely satisfactory. Along with Holtzmann may stand the sketch by Bousset entitled *Jesus* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1906, pp. 211, \$1.25), one of the best books to present in brief compass the moderate progressive interpretation of Jesus; students will do

well to read Bousset in order to observe his historical point of view and method, as well as his conclusions.

The popular books upon the Life of Jesus, designed for class-study and general reading, are numerous. Among them perhaps three should here be named: Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ* (Scribners, New York, 1908, pp. 241, \$1), an exceedingly good résumé of the life, times, and teaching of Jesus, by the foremost New Testament scholar of England; it is historical, reverential, and illuminating. Burton and Mathews, *Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 5th ed., 1904, pp. 300, \$1), a work arranged for systematic study of all the gospel material, scholarly and conservative, of great value for individual and class use. And David Smith, *The Days of His Flesh* (A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York, 3d ed., 1906, pp. 549, \$2.50), a spirited, engaging, conservative, and devout account of Jesus' ministry. For a single-volume account of the Jewish people in Jesus' day, an excellent book is by Morrison, *The Jews under Roman Rule* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 3d ed., 1893, pp. 426, \$1.50).

3. *The Teaching of Jesus*.—The Gospel of Matthew is especially interested in what Jesus taught, presenting in five great discourse sections the fullest account we have of his words; not a small amount of this material is found in this gospel only. The study of the First Gospel is for this reason chiefly concerned with Jesus' teaching. Commentaries interpret the teachings verse by verse. One needs also a collective and unifying treatment of the teaching. This one finds in special books upon the subject. The greatest exposition of Jesus' whole message is given by Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus* (Scribners, New York, 1892, 2 vols., \$5); it is comprehensive, orderly, clear, scholarly, conservative, and in the highest degree useful. Next to this, with similar qualities but in much briefer compass, is the fine little book by Stevens, *The Teaching of Jesus* (Macmillan, New York, 1902, pp. 190, \$1). All Bible students are earnestly urged to use one of these two books in their study of the Gospel of Matthew. For the Sermon on the Mount one may name: Gore, *The Sermon on the Mount* (John Murray, London, 1899, pp. 218, 3s. 6d.); and my article entitled "The Sermon on the Mount" in the Extra Volume (pp. 1-45), of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

4. *History and Criticism of the Gospel*.—The origin of the Gospel of Matthew in the first (or early second) century A. D., and its relation to the gospels of Mark and Luke, is an interesting problem in the history of primitive Christianity, intricate and difficult to solve. Of still greater importance is the problem of the historical trustworthiness of the account of Jesus' life and teaching as contained in this gospel. These fundamental matters are dealt with chiefly in books which are called "Introductions to the New Testament." Three large works are here to be named, all of them by German scholars in English translations: Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Scribners, New York, 1909, 3 vols., \$12), a massive production, conservative, learned, and useful; the discussion of the Gospel of Matthew is in chap. ix (II, 367-716). Jülicher, *Introduction to the New Testament* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1904, pp. 658, \$4.50), a single-volume work of fine scholarship, progressive spirit, concise, thorough, and highly instructive; all things considered, Jülicher's book is probably the best single work upon the subject; the discussion of the Gospel of Matthew is in pp. 292-383. The third work is by Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1906-9, 2 vols., \$6); a work of first importance, independent, radical, thorough, competent, suggestive; the discussion of the Gospel of Matthew is in Vol. II, chaps. xi-xvii.

In speaking of these books, the fact-seeking student of the Bible has been in mind. Those who are prepared to deal with the historical and critical questions of the New Testament are advised to read such books as have been here mentioned. One will observe that the task of historically interpreting the New Testament is a work on which many have spent and others are spending their lives without completing their undertaking; and that patient research, breadth of judgment, modesty of opinion, and willingness to recognize uncertainties, are necessary qualities in the Bible student. Meanwhile, the moral and religious value of the New Testament, and in this case particularly of the Gospel of Matthew, is full, clear, free, and vital to those who will study the book with an earnest and devout spirit.

Book Reviews

Jesus and the Gospel: Christianity Justified in the Mind of Christ. By JAMES DENNEY, D.D., Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, United Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1909.

To say that this is an epoch-making or even an epoch-marking book would be to prophesy too rashly; but its appearance is at any rate a sign of the times. It deals with what is at the present hour the most living of all issues; and one may best characterize the treatment as worthy of the theme. Those who are acquainted with Dr. Denney's previous writings will not need to be told that it reveals a complete mastery of New Testament learning, and that the argument is conducted with equal skill and candor. The virile, bracing style, moreover, carries the reader irresistibly on to the end of a book which is not short, but is by no means too long for the matter it contains.

The book has a twofold purpose. Toward those who are outside the church, it is an apologetic for the validity of the Christian position; toward those who are within, it is an appeal to distinguish between the one experience which is Christian faith and the many theological concepts and systems in which the church has endeavored to give intellectual expression to that faith. The argument consists, after the modern fashion, in an appeal to the facts of experience. There are two such facts, which can neither be denied nor ignored by any truth-seeking mind—the faith in Christ which makes Christianity what it is and always has been, and the religious self-consciousness of Christ as this is portrayed in the gospels. And the question, more acutely raised than ever by recent critical thought, is: What is the relation between these facts? Which is creative of the other? This can only be determined by a scientific ascertainment of the facts, and it is to this that nine-tenths of the book is devoted.

First, Dr. Denney examines the New Testament writings (to go beyond these being superfluous) with this question in view: Is there beneath its various strata of christological thought one religious attitude toward the personal Christ? The conclusion is easily reached that in this respect "there is really a self-consistent New Testament, and a self-consistent Christian religion. There is a unity in all these early Christian books which is powerful enough to absorb and subdue their differences, and that unity is to be found in a common religious relation to Christ, in a common

sense that everything in the relations of God and man must be and is determined by him . . . and especially in a common sense of what Christians owe to him in dealing with the situation sin has created." Yet Dr. Denney does not take this part of his task lightly. This section of the book furnishes a brief but illuminating study of the New Testament christologies. The treatment of the Apocalypse is specially fresh and striking; and in his dealing with the latest phase of Pauline thought (the Epistle to the Colossians), as also with the Johannine, Dr. Denney seems to us to rise to his highest level.

The larger portion of the book is occupied with a study of the evidence borne in the Synoptics to the self-consciousness of Jesus, and here the more delicate and difficult part of the investigation lies. Dr. Denney insists, in the first place, that a true estimate of the evidence is morally conditioned, and that in three ways: by a sense, first, of the incomparable moral value of Jesus; secondly, of the vastness of the soteriological issues at stake; thirdly, of the spiritual power manifested in the historical results of the Christian faith. He effectively maintains that these conditions in no way invade the rights of strict historical inquiry; and while they are formally enunciated in connection with the evidence of the resurrection, they are operative everywhere in the estimate he forms of the self-revelation of Jesus as this is given in the gospels. Here is the crux of the problem, and Dr. Denney approaches it with a full sense of its difficulty. The whole synoptic problem is, for the purpose in hand, adequately discussed; and the critical investigations and theories by which a later coloring is detected in parts of the evangelic narrative are fully considered and, in some few points, accepted. By his detailed study of the data Dr. Denney has placed present and, we venture to say, future students of the New Testament under deep obligation. Without personally dissenting from his conclusions on any single point, one may express the opinion that, for purely apologetic purposes, his argument would have been strengthened by a few omissions. To some readers (of the kind he aims at reaching) the deduction drawn from, for instance, Christ's saying about the unpardonable sin will appear unduly strained.

But the argument is not a chain, the strength of which is measured by its weakest link. It is cumulative; and in this brief review it is impossible to convey an impression of its cumulative force. It may be safely said, however, that Dr. Denney has so presented his case, or rather has so succeeded in letting the case present itself, that it must carry conviction to those readers who are not debarred by a preconceived theory from considering it on its own merits. The conclusion is that Christianity is not an idealism, which first idealized Christ and then imagined itself based upon what was

its own idealization. The church lives by the power of the Spirit, but the Spirit does not work *in vacuo*. "When we look back from the Christian religion as the New Testament exhibits it and as it is still exhibited in the Christian church, to the historical Jesus, we see a Person who is not only equal to the place which Christian faith assigns him, but who assumes that place naturally and spontaneously as his own."

ROBERT LAW

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The Child and His Religion. By GEORGE E. DAWSON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. ix + 124 pp. Postpaid 82 cents.

If anyone is perplexed about the new science of religious education and seeks a brief statement of some of its main positions, Dr. Dawson's little book will answer his need. With some historical treatment of educational theory, he discusses the natural interest of the child as fundamental for all education. He then shows how this factor of interest is determinative of a perfectly natural religious development of the child, and how it must condition the methods and materials of education, including especially the Bible curriculum.

But in addition to providing a convenient introduction for the layman, these studies offer data upon some difficult questions. The subject of the natural religion of children is of the greatest importance, and if we could be sure with this writer that the child has a spontaneous interest in the idea of ultimate causality and of immortality, we should be on firm ground at a very critical point. Does a child ask, apart from adult suggestion, Who made the sun? And, if he does, what does he mean by it, and what does the answer in terms of deity mean to him?

The study of children's interest in the Bible has been based on a large collection of data. It would be more valuable and convincing if we could be quite sure that the children had really had a proper opportunity of choice between the different parts of the Bible. In other words, the study may reveal quite as much regarding inadequate presentation of the Bible as regarding natural interests of youth. The graph shows a culmination of boys' interest in the historical books at the eleventh year, markedly declining from that point. If the fascinating biography of the Old Testament were presented apart from doctrinal deductions, the returns might be different. At least two years later would seem to be the culmination. The very slight interest in prophecy culminating in boys at fourteen and disappearing at fifteen, although the study includes the twentieth year, would seem to

indicate the presentation of this intensely social material at too early an age, and probably from the wrong point of view. The prophets can be very dull or very fascinating according to the method of approach.

One might question the inclusion of all Old Testament biography and history (two distinct interests) together with apostolic history under the one title of historical books, and the treatment of the story of Jesus and the life and teachings of Jesus, not as biography or history, but as gospel. As the children would not make these same distinctions, the deductions are somewhat invalidated.

Dr. Dawson has largely made allowance for the various elements entering into his wide study of children's interest in the Bible. His conclusions indicate the basis upon which modern scientific Sunday-school curricula have been formed.

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New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

NOYES, G. A. *The Song of Songs Accented in Accordance with the Poetic System, with a Rhythmic Translation.* London: Luzac & Co., 1909. Pp. 22. 3s. 6d.

The especial interest of this pamphlet lies in the fact that it is the work of an English army officer who devoted his leisure hours to the study of Hebrew by correspondence under the direction of Professor C. E. Crandall, formerly of the Semitic Department of the University of Chicago, to whom the work is dedicated. The task has been carefully done and constitutes an excellent illustration of the possibilities within reach by the aid of the correspondence method of study.

PRINCE, J. D. *Assyrian Primer. An Inductive Method of Learning the Cuneiform Characters.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1909. Pp. 59.

This seems to be one of the best of the various attempts that have been made to render the introduction to the Assyrian language less painful to the student. It can be cordially commended as presenting the elemental facts of the language in simple and intelligible form. It contains within itself all the materials needed for a course of fifteen lessons.

ARTICLES

EERDMANS, B. D. *The Passover and the Days of Unleavened Bread. The Expositor,* November, 1909. Pp. 448-62.

This article seeks to show (1) that the Passover and Days of Unleavened Bread were originally two distinct feasts, (2) that the Passover was the sacrifice by which the house is protected against the evil influences of the full moon in March, and (3) that the Days of the Unleavened Bread are to be explained by the primitive animistic conception of the growth of corn.

WEINHEIMER, I. *Hebräer und Israeliten. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* October, 1909. Pp. 275-80.

A suggestion that the Hebrews and Israelites were originally two distinct peoples, of whom the former entered Canaan much earlier than the latter and became subject to the Philistines, from whom they obtained deliverance by the aid of the Israelites.

HAUPT, P. *Lea und Rahel. Ibid.,* pp. 281-86.

On the basis of linguistic speculations, the thesis is presented that the names Leah and Rachel mean respectively "village-dwellers" and "tent-dwellers," i. e., the Leah tribes were settled inhabitants, while the Rachel group was still in the nomadic stage of existence.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

ZAHN, THEODOR. *Introduction to the New Testament.* Translated from the third German edition by John M. Trout, W. A. Mather, Louis Hodous, E. S. Worcester, W. H. Worrell, and R. B. Dodge, under the direction of M. W. Jacobus, assisted by Charles S. Thayer. In three volumes. New York: Scribners, 1909. Vol. I, pp. xviii + 564; Vol. II, pp. viii + 617; Vol. III, pp. viii + 539.

The fellows and scholars of Hartford Seminary have done English-speaking students of the New Testament a great service in publishing this translation of Professor

Zahn's monumental Introduction. While its positions are strongly conservative, the encyclopedic learning with which they are buttressed makes the book a mine of information on the New Testament. It will be somewhat fully reviewed in a later number.

PLUMMER, ALFRED. An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew. New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xlv+451. \$3.

Dr. Plummer has prepared this substantial commentary with a view to supplementing the critical work of W. C. Allen with a treatment more interpretative and historical. He has produced a work which promises to take a foremost place among commentaries on the First Gospel. It will be fully reviewed in a later number.

SCOTT, ERNEST F. The Historical and Religious Value of the Fourth Gospel. (Modern Religious Problems, Edited by Ambrose White Vernon.) Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909. Pp. 83. \$0.50.

Dr. Vernon's new series of books aims to present to thoughtful people both the results of modern scholarship and the practical problems now before the church. This attractive series promises to do much toward this important task. The books are not too long to be read each at a single sitting. Professor Scott's volume on the Gospel of John is a frank and sympathetic presentation of the modern view of that gospel, fully recognizing its late date and secondary historical character, while reaffirming its great and permanent religious value.

WALKER, W. L. The Gospel of Reconciliation, or At-one-ment. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1909. Pp. vii+245. \$2.

A discriminating discussion of the Atonement, especially emphasizing its moral rather than expiatory character. The work is based on careful study of the New Testament, but aims to bring the gospel of reconciliation into vital relation with modern life.

PREUSCHEN, ERWIN. Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. Sechste Lieferung: *ὁμολογουμένως* bis *προάγω*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909. Coll. 801-960. M. 1.80.

One more instalment will complete Preuschen's new dictionary of New Testament Greek. A few inaccuracies in this sixth *fasciculus* may be noted. *ὁπώραν*, Barnabas 12:2, is omitted. The reference for *Οὐαλέριος* should be I Clement 65:1 (not 4), and for *ὄμενοῦν* Diognetus 7:4 (not 2). *παρακαθίστημι* should replace *παρακαθίστανω*, col. 863 (see Diog. 2:7) and *περικαθαίρω* should stand before *περικάθαρμα* (cols. 897, 898). Despite minor defects this lexicon, unique in its inclusion of other early Christian literature beside the New Testament, promises to be of great use. Yet the neglect of the lexical materials afforded by the papyri is unfortunate.

HAUTSCH, ERNST. Die Evangelienzitate des Origenes. (Texte und Untersuchungen, XXXIV, 2a.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. 169. M. 5.50.

The collection and examination of Origen's quotations from the gospels, leads Hautsch to conclude that he used no single text or copy, but employed sometimes one, sometimes another, and often quoted loosely from memory. He did not construct a text and often his readings have been changed by scribes to more familiar forms. A very convenient conspectus of Origen's readings, with their manuscript attestation, concludes the work.

ARTICLES

CLEMEN, CARL. "The Dependence of Early Christianity upon non-Jewish Religions." *The Expositor*, November, 1909. Pp. 462-480.

Professor Clemen rigorously criticizes recent attempts to explain Christianity as largely derived from non-Jewish faiths, finding in it little of importance that can be so explained.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

HYDE, W. D. Sin and Its Forgiveness. (Modern Religious Problems. Edited by Ambrose White Vernon.) Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909. Pp. 116. \$0.50.

KNOX, GEORGE W. The Gospel of Jesus, the Son of God. An Interpretation for the Modern Man. (Modern Religious Problems. Edited by Ambrose White Vernon.) Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909. Pp. 119. \$0.50.

The two foregoing booklets, in accord with the purpose of the series to which they belong, present in distinctly popular and virile language the modern point of view regarding the subjects with which they deal. The series will do much to make the American public familiar with the newer thought. The tone and spirit are distinctly evangelical in the best sense of the word, and a widespread circulation of such reading can do naught but good.



HAMATH, MODERN HAMA, ON THE ORONTES
(Hamath was a famous Syro-Hittite city)

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXV

FEBRUARY, 1910

NUMBER 2

Editorial

THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE LIBERTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The community has some right of control over the individual; this all but the anarchist will admit. The individual has some right of independent action; only an absolute despot will deny this. To find the place where these two rights meet, a *modus vivendi* under which each may be conserved without undue encroachment on the other—this is the problem of the centuries, over which many battles have been fought, and much blood shed. It is only one phase, but a very important one, of the perennially mooted question of authority.

COMMUNITY CONTROL INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE LAW

A certain measure of the community's rightful control of the individual is exercised through legislatures, courts, and police. But beyond the sphere of statutory law there is a zone of influence in which the community with more or less articulate voice demands that the individual shall limit the exercise of his freedom in deference to the judgment or preference of the community. It resents the too wide departure of the individual from conventional usage even in such matters as dress and voice, and personal opinions on religion, morals, or politics. Nor can it be denied that this claim of the community to extra-legal authority over the individual is justified, if only it be not pushed to excess. No man is an isolated unit. His every action promotes or hinders the welfare of the community. The community has a stake in his conduct, and a right to demand that he shall consider its welfare.

LIMITATIONS OF THE COMMUNITY'S RIGHT OF CONTROL

Such authority of the community over the individual has its undoubted limits. It lies primarily in the sphere of conduct rather than of thought. The community may justly demand that I shall not rasp its nerves and shock its sensibilities by eccentric manners or style of dress, as it may certainly require that I abstain from conduct that more obviously and seriously invades its rights. But it clearly has no right to insist that I shall admire the picture which it happens to be fashionable to applaud, or agree with popular opinion as to the beauty of a particular type of architecture. The church may rightly expect of its members that they conform to established usages of worship as well as to its moral standards, and of its ministers that their public teaching shall either reinforce the historical ideals of the church, or, if it diverge from these, shall evidently be dictated by a loyal desire for the larger spiritual efficiency of the church. But when an ecclesiastical authority assumes a right of inquisition into the thinking of the layman or the clergyman, demanding that either of them shall conform his thinking to the views handed down from the past, it is entering upon a course that is in grave danger of involving not only oppression of the individual, but in the long run most serious evil to the church. The authority of the common judgment is manifestly limited also by that of the individual conscience. For the authority of the latter cannot be denied without at the same time destroying all ground on which the former can be affirmed. To demand the subjection of the individual conscience to the average judgment of the community for anything less than very weighty reasons affecting the welfare of the community involves a wrong to the individual and in the end robs the community of one of its greatest values. Indeed, aside from those cases which properly fall within the scope of law enforced by power, the authority of the community is rather a right to demand that its judgment and its interests shall receive due consideration in the process by which the individual determines his course of action than that he shall regard the common judgment as decisive for his own decision, whether in the sphere of thought or of action. Dissent is in the last analysis a question for the individual conscience. The community may in obedience to its conscience punish it, but the right of the Christ to

bear his witness, and, if need be, seal his testimony with the blood of the cross—this we must not deny.

EXAMPLES OF RIGHTFUL DEFERENCE TO THE COMMON JUDGMENT

Yet when these limitations have been recognized, there remains the important fact that the individual is a member of the community and as such is under obligation to identify himself vitally with the interests of the community, and to a certain extent to conform his conduct to the judgment and will of the community. To live in a community whose common conscience is strongly in favor of total abstinence and to defy this common sentiment in one's own practice would be foolish if not wicked. An honest man may honestly disapprove the sentiment of the community in which he lives respecting marriage and divorce, and may even believe that conformity to this sentiment involves unnecessary or unjust suffering on his part; yet to defy that sentiment might be to inflict on the community a wrong far greater than any that he is himself suffering. One may believe that the usages of his community in respect to the Sabbath are unnecessarily strict, and that this strictness is working damage morally and religiously to the youth of the community. In such a case it may be the duty of the dissenter from common opinion to endeavor to change the sentiment of the community, and to bring it, it may be, into closer conformity with New Testament teaching. Yet it is not less certain that he will do well to treat that sentiment with respect rather than violence, lest he may find that the only result of his efforts is disrepute for himself and alienation of the youth from the moral life of the community, to the danger of both.

THIS DEFERENCE DUE IN THOUGHT AS WELL AS DEED

But it is not in the sphere of conduct only that the principle has its application. It holds also in that of opinion. The message begotten in the soul of the prophet, the conclusion of the scholar, product of his laborious thought, it is the right and the duty of prophet and scholar to utter. Nor may they withhold their message because it will shock the ears on which it falls. It has been ever so with the really needed messages. But neither prophet nor scholar may forget that the opinions which he is combating and endeavoring to

modify or displace had their beginning also in the soul of some prophet or the mind of some scholar, and still retain something of the sacredness that belongs to the newer message. Still more important is it for the thinker of today to remember that these for him outlived dogmas have entered into the souls of men of the present day, have been to them the inspiration to high living, have become the fiber of their hearts, the blood in their veins. He may seek to change them—perhaps he must. But he cannot do it with reckless disregard either of the pain he is to inflict or the actual damage he may do to the moral life of those of whose life they are a part.

But more than this—before it becomes a question of expression, when it is still a problem of the prophet's or the scholar's own conviction, these facts concerning the origin and present significance of old opinions demand to be taken into account. The great beliefs that the church has held for centuries, born in hours of earnest struggle after light and truth, the consolation of martyrs, the inspiration of strong men through years of toil and strife—on these one may not lay hands hastily. What has happened before may happen again, and therefore to these great beliefs there may succeed other closer approximations to truth, as they in their day displaced older creeds. But the thinker of today cannot but pause and weigh well the claims of the older thought that once was new, before he gives even in his own mind final assent to that product of his own thinking that seems so clear and so clearly true.

THE DUTY OF SILENCE AND OF MUTUAL RESPECT

These contentions are obvious enough; few will dissent from them. But they carry with them important practical corollaries.

First, there is the duty not only of speech but of silence. If anywhere liberty is a sacred right with which none may interfere, if anywhere independence is a sacred duty which one dare not surrender, it is in the soul of man. This no man may bind. To himself and the community and the cause of truth every thinker owes it to think honestly. But if to this duty of honest thinking there be added the obligation not needlessly to run counter to the thought of the community, it follows that silence may sometimes be one's highest duty. Within its proper limitations it is not, as often alleged, cowardice

or insincerity, but due respect for the rights of the community and due regard for its welfare.

But then speech is also sometimes a duty.

A second corollary is the mutual respect which men of opposite types of mind or different functions in society owe one another. One man is fitted by temperament, position, education to be a conservator of our goodly inheritance from the past, and because fitted for it, called to this office. Another without disrespect for the past, possibly a more thorough student of it than the other, is born to be the proclaimer of new things in thinking and in life. Each may be supremely loyal to the sacred cause of truth, and neither have occasion of complaint of the other. Both types of men are needed. If only each recognize the need of the other, and each temper his ardor for his own task by recognition of the value of the other's, they may work effectively together for the welfare of mankind.

THE HEBREW IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

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II

THE PRIMITIVE CULT OF THE DEAD

In a previous article¹ it was found to be the universal belief of antiquity that disembodied spirits not only survived death, but also gained large powers not possessed in life. They were thus super-human beings, and in many ancient languages were called by the same names as the gods, e.g., in Babylonian, *ilâni*, in Hebrew, *êlôhîm*. It was natural, accordingly, that they should receive homage similar in kind to that paid to the gods and to other spirits.²

The mourning and funeral rites of the ancient Hebrews were closely similar to those of the other Semites, and have also many analogies in the customs of primitive and uncivilized races throughout the world. There can be no doubt, therefore, that they belonged to the earliest period of the religion of Israel.³

1. *Removal of garments*.—Among the ancient Arabs it was customary to strip one's self when mourning for the dead. Women exposed not only their faces and breasts, but sometimes their entire bodies. Messengers that brought tidings of death appeared naked

¹ *Biblical World*, January, 1910, pp. 8-20.

² See Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, chaps. xx, xxv; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, chap. xiv; De la Saussaye, *Manual of the Science of Religion*, pp. 112 ff.; Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, chap. xv; Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, arts "Ancestor-Worship," "Animism."

³ The most important works on ancestor-worship among the Hebrews are: Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1881), I, 387 ff.; *Biblische Theologie* (1905), 185 ff.; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israels* (1892); Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel* (1898); Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (1899); Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels* (1900); Guérinot, "Le culte des morts chez les Hébreux," *Journal Asiatique*, 1904, pp. 441-85; Lods, *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite* (1908); Margoliouth, "Ancestor-Worship (Hebrew and Jewish)," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 444-50, 457-61; Torge, *Seelenglaube und Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im Alten Testament* (1909).

or half-naked.⁴ In like manner the Hebrews, as soon as death occurred, or news of it was received, "tore off" (A. V. "rent") their garments (cf. Mic. 1:8, 11; Isa. 20:2). Originally, doubtless, the mourner remained naked as long as the funeral rites lasted; but, with advancing civilization, this was felt to be indecent; and therefore, after the garments had been torn off, sackcloth was usually girded on (Gen. 37:34; II Sam. 3:31; I Kings 21:27; II Kings 6:30; 19:1; Esther 4:1). The "sackcloth" was merely a kilt of goat or camel's hair, such as had been worn by the forefathers in the desert. It was the nearest approach to nakedness that propriety would allow. Bare feet were unobjectionable, and therefore remained a sign of mourning down to late times (II Sam. 15:30; Ezek. 24:17). In the post-exilic period the Jews were satisfied with merely tearing off the upper garment (Ezra 9:3; Num. 14:6). By the time of Christ the custom was conventionalized into a mere tearing of a small piece out of the robe, or a baring of the arm and shoulder.⁵

The most likely interpretation of this rite is that nakedness, or a simple loincloth, was the primitive Hebrew dress that was retained in mourning because it was a religious exercise. Religion is naturally conservative, and the sacred costume of one age is the everyday attire of the past. The Arabs used to make the circuit of the Ka'ba naked, and even today perform it without shoes and in a simple loincloth. In Babylonian monuments of the earliest period the worshipers are depicted naked; in later times they wear a kilt.⁶ The case of Saul, who stripped off his garments when he prophesied, and lay all night naked (I Sam. 19:24), shows that in early times nudity was regarded as the proper condition for a seer. Even in later days the prophets wore the primitive skin apron ("hairy mantle"; II Kings 1:8; Zech. 13:4; Matt. 3:4; Mark 1:6). Sandals were removed from the feet when entering holy ground (Exod. 3:5; Josh. 5:15). Similarly one stripped one's self and removed one's sandals when mourning because one was about to take part in the

⁴ Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², pp. 177, 195.

⁵ Buchler, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXI, 81-92; Jastrow, "The Tearing of Garments as a Sign of Mourning," *Journal American Oriental Society*, XXI, 23.

⁶ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 666.

cult of the dead.⁷ This rite was forbidden to the high-priest (Lev. 21:10) as it was an act of worship to another deity than Yahweh.

2. *Covering the head*.—In singular contrast to the custom of stripping the body was the other custom of covering the head or mouth, or laying the hand on the head as an act of mourning (II Sam. 13:19; 15:30; 19:4; Esther 6:12; Ezek. 24:17, 22; Mic. 3:7). The most natural interpretation of this ceremony is suggested by Exod. 3:6; I Kings 19:13, where the prophets cover their heads in the presence of Yahweh so as to protect themselves from death if they looked upon him (Exod. 33:20). In like manner covering the head in mourning was probably originally designed to protect one from inadvertently seeing the ghost that lingered near the corpse.

3. *Cuttings in the flesh*.—These are referred to in Jer. 16:6; 41:5; 47:5; 48:37 as established forms of mourning to which the prophet does not object. In Lev. 19:28 they are associated with tattooed marks. Similar cuttings for the dead were made by the Arabs (Wellhausen, *Reste*,² 181). The fact that they are prohibited by Lev. 19:28; 21:5, and Deut. 14:1 shows that they are known to be religious rites in honor of the dead. Lev. 19:28 states expressly that they are made "for a spirit." The interpretation of the custom is furnished by I Kings 18:28, where the prophets of Baal cut themselves in honor of their god. As W. Robertson Smith has shown,⁸ cuttings in the flesh, whether practiced in the name of gods or of ghosts, were designed to make a sacrifice of blood, and to establish a blood-covenant. In the case of ghosts they were peculiarly acceptable as supplying strength to their feeble forms.⁹ Tattooing was designed to mark one as a permanent worshiper of the deity.

4. *Cutting the hair*.—Among the Arabs women cut off their hair in mourning, and men shorn the head and the beard.¹⁰ The Hebrews shaved the head (Mic. 1:16; Isa. 15:2; 22:12; Jer. 16:6; 47:5; 48:37; Deut. 21:12; Lev. 21:5), made a "bald spot between the eyes" (Deut. 14:1), or shaved off the beard (Isa. 15:2; Jer. 41:5;

⁷ See Jastrow, "The Tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning," *Jour. Am. Orient. Soc.*, XXI, 23 ff.

⁸ *Religion of the Semites*², pp. 322 ff.

⁹ Cf. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 191 ff.

¹⁰ Wellhausen, *Reste*², pp. 181.

48:37). In later times a little of the hair was plucked out as a ceremonial equivalent. This performance also must be interpreted as an act of worship to the dead (cf. *Iliad*, xxiii, 169 ff.). Hair-offerings to deities were common throughout the Semitic world, and were analogous to blood-offerings, the strength being supposed to reside in the hair.¹¹ In Israel the hair of the nazirite was dedicated to Yahweh, and was presented as a sacrifice when his vow expired (Num. 6:5, 18; Judg. 13:5; 16:17). The prohibition of cutting the hair for the dead in Lev. 21:5; Deut. 14:1 shows also that it was regarded as a religious ceremony.

5. *Covering with dust or ashes.*—The Arabs, when mourning, cast dust upon their bodies or their heads.¹² The Hebrews seem originally to have wallowed in the dust (Mic. 1:10; Jer. 6:26; Ezek. 27:30; Esther 4:3). Subsequently they sat in the dust (Isa. 26:19; 47:1; 52:2; 58:5; Ezek. 28:18; Job. 2:8; Jonah 3:6), or put dust upon their heads (Josh. 7:6; I Sam. 4:12; II Sam. 1:2; 13:19; Esther 4:1; Job 2:12; Lam. 2:10; Ezek. 27:30; II Macc. 10:25; 14:15; Rev. 18:19). This can be only a symbolic act designed to express the thought that one wishes to be buried with the dead and so to maintain communion with them. Analogous is the Arabian custom of drinking water mixed with dust from the grave.¹³

6. *Lamentation.*—Among the ancient Arabs the women broke out in a shrill wail when any member of the family died, and continued this until the period of mourning was over. This was accompanied with frequent ejaculation of the name of the deceased, and with the entreaty, "Be not far away!" Poets also composed extended laments addressed to the dead. Among the Hebrews the lament was a regular and important part of the funeral ceremonies (Gen. 23:2; Deut. 21:13; II Sam. 19:4; I Kings 13:30; II Kings 13:14; Jer. 16:6; 22:10, 18; 34:5; Ezek. 24:16; Acts 9:39). In it the members of the family were assisted by professional mourning men and women (II Chron. 35:25; Jer. 9:17 f.; Am. 5:16). These people had a stock of laments adapted to various occasions that they

¹¹ W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 323 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 198.

¹² Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 177.

¹³ Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 163; Jastrow, "Dust and Ashes as Symbols of Mourning," *Jour. Am. Orient. Soc.*, XX, 133 ff.

chanted before the corpse.¹⁴ In the case of important persons special dirges were composed (II Sam. 1:17; 3:33).

Some lamentations are doubtless to be regarded as natural expressions of grief, but this will not explain official mournings in which the entire nation took part (e.g., Gen. 50:7-10; Deut. 34:8; Num. 20:29; Judg. 11:40; I Sam. 25:1; 28:3; II Sam. 1:12; 3:32; Zech. 12:10-14). The only tenable theory is that such laments were acts of homage paid to the departed. This view is confirmed by the following facts: (1) the Hebrew laments, like those of the ancient Arabs, were always addressed to the dead (cf. II Sam. 1:26; 3:34; Jer. 22:18; 34:5); (2) similar laments were customary in the worship of the gods (cf. Judg. 11:40 with Ezek. 8:14; Zech. 12:11); (3) lamentation, like other acts of mourning, was repugnant to Yahweh as part of the cult of rival divinities (Deut. 26:14; Hos. 9:4; Am. 6:10).

7. *Fasting*.—Fasting usually lasted until the evening of the day of death (II Sam. 1:12; 3:35; 12:21). When it was continued over a longer period, e.g., seven days (I Sam. 31:13), food was taken only after the sun had set, as in the Muhammadan feast of Ramaḍān. The origin of this custom is difficult to explain. A natural reluctance to take food when one was sorrowing does not account for the fasting of people who were in no way related to the deceased, nor for the feast which followed the burial. Jevons and Grüneisen hold that a death in the house rendered everything taboo, so that food could not be eaten until the corpse was removed. W. R. Smith suggests that fasting was a ritual preparation for the sacrificial feast that followed, like the Roman Catholic fasting before communion. Spencer, Lubbock, Tylor, and Buhl regard it as a means of inducing ecstasy, in which one held intercourse with the spirits (cf. Exod. 34:28; Dan. 9:3; 10:3). In any case it is unquestionable that fasting was a ritual act.

8. *Burial*.—Immediately after death the eyes of the corpse were closed (Gen. 46:4), probably also the mouth, though this does not happen to be mentioned before the Mishna. The body was then washed (Acts 9:37), anointed with perfumed oils (Mark 16:1; Luke 24:1; John 12:3, 7; 19:40), dressed in its best attire, and

¹⁴ See Budde, "The Folk-Song of Israel," *New World*, March, 1893.

bound up in the position of an unborn child, as we know from the remains in early Hebrew tombs in Palestine (cf. Matt. 27:59; Mark 15:46; Luke 23:53). These customs are not mentioned in the Old Testament, but their antiquity is proved by the fact that they existed also among the Babylonians and the Arabs.¹⁵ Burial was the universal Semitic custom; indeed, the word *ḵabar*, "bury," is common to all the Semitic languages. As in the modern Orient, the interment probably took place in the evening of the day of death, which explains why fasting usually lasted until the evening (II Sam. 1:12; 3:35; 12:21; cf. Deut. 21:23). The body was carried to the grave on a bier (II Sam. 3:31), and coffins were unknown in the early period. The poor were laid on the ground, or in a shallow trench, and were covered with a mound of earth. The rich were buried in caves or in artificial tombs that they had hewn out for themselves during their lifetime (Gen. 23:9; II Kings 23:16; Isa. 22:16). In pre-exilic days these tombs were entered by holes in the roofs, and the dead were deposited one above the other in layers on the floor.¹⁶ On the importance attached to burial in the family tomb see the previous article (*Biblical World*, January, 1910, p. 15). With the dead were deposited food and drink, pottery, lamps, implements, weapons, ornaments, amulets, and images of various sorts.¹⁷ Many of the articles were broken, the idea being doubtless to liberate their spirits so that they might join the spirit of the dead.

9. *The sanctity of tombs.*—By all ancient peoples the graves of forefathers were regarded as holy places where regular religious rites were kept up. By the ancient Arabs they were surrounded with a *hima*, or sacred inclosure, and were provided with *anṣâb*, or standing stones, like the sanctuaries of the gods. They were also asylums where criminals found refuge. At them all the rites of sacrifice went on that were usual in the worship of the gods.¹⁸ In modern Muhammadan lands the cult of saints is one of the most conspicuous elements of the popular religion. There is scarcely a hilltop that is not crowned with the whitewashed tomb of some *wely*, "patron," *sheikh*,

¹⁵ King, *Babylonian Religion*, pp. 48 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 178.

¹⁶ *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1904, pp. 328 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 332-35.

¹⁸ Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 184.

“chief” or *neby*, “prophet.” In the worship offered at these shrines Jews, Christians, Muhammadans, and Druses alike participate.¹⁹

A similar reverence for graves existed among the ancient Hebrews. The Book of Genesis and the other early historical books record the burial places of the forefathers with the same interest that they show in tracing the origin of the numerous holy springs, holy trees, holy mountains, and holy stones. That they enjoyed a similar sanctity



Photo. by L. B. Paton

TOMB OF SHEIKH ABDULLAH ET BEDAWY NEAR DAMASCUS

is proved by numerous references to them as seats of worship. At Hebron, the burial place of Sarah and Abraham (Gen. 23:19; 25:9), the chiefs made a covenant (II Sam. 5:3) and Absalom paid his vows (II Sam. 15:7, 12). It was a “city of refuge” (Josh. 20:7) and a city of the priests (Josh. 21:11). According to Sozomen²⁰ religious rites were kept up here as late as Christian times. The Ḥaram, or “sanctuary,” that covers the supposed cave of Machpelah is still one of the chief holy places of Islam, and Jews come thither from all parts

¹⁹ Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion*, pp. 154 ff.

²⁰ *Histor. eccl.*, II, 4.

of the world to pray to Abraham and Sarah. At Ramah, the burial place of Rachel (Gen. 35:19; I Sam. 10:2; Jer. 31:15), there was a holy stone upon her grave. On the grave of Deborah below Bethel there stood a tree known as *Allôn-bākhûth*, "the holy tree of weeping" (Gen. 35:8). The burial place of Miriam was *Kadesh*, "the sanctuary" (Num. 20:1). Shechem, the burial-place of Joseph (Josh. 24:32), was the site of a holy tree called "the oak of the oracle," or "the oak of the diviners" (Gen. 12:6; Deut. 11:30; Judg. 9:37), of a holy stone (Josh. 24:26 f.), of an altar (Gen. 12:7; 22:9) and of a temple (Judg. 9:4, 46). It was also a city of refuge (Josh. 20:7). Of similar character as sanctuaries were probably the graves of the heroes Tola (Judg. 10:1 f.), Jair (Judg. 10:3-5), Ibzan (Judg. 12:8-10), Elon (Judg. 12:11 f.), and Abdon (Judg. 12:13-15).

The Book of Kings records with equal care the burial places of the kings of Judah. Ezek. 43:7-9 shows clearly that in his day these were seats of worship. The words "whoredom" and "abomination" that he applies to them are the ones that are commonly used by the prophets for the cult of strange gods. Isa. 65:3 f. speaks also of people who provoke Yahweh to his face continually, "who dwell among the graves and lodge in the vaults."

The "uncleanness" of graves in the later Hebrew religion is additional proof that originally they were places of worship. Among ancient peoples everything connected with death was "taboo," i. e., it could not be touched without falling under the influence of a spirit.²¹ Among the Semites the word for taboo was *kādôsh*, which we commonly render "holy." Into the religion of Yahweh many ancient Semitic taboos were taken up, and continued to be regarded as "holy." Other taboos were felt to belong to inferior spirits or to rival gods, and were now pronounced "unclean." Thus foreign rites make Yahweh's land "unclean" (Jer. 2:7, 23; 3:2, 9; Ezek. 36:18), and alien worship makes the Temple "unclean" (Jer. 7:30; Ezek. 43:7, 9). Now, as we have just seen, the graves of the patriarchs and heroes were at first regarded as "holy," and were favorite places of sacrifice. Archaeology shows that in pre-exilic times the dead were buried without hesitation within the city walls or even in houses,²²

²¹ Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, chap. vi.

²² *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 347.

and this custom is also attested by I Sam. 25:1; 28:3; I Kings 2:10, 34; 11:43; 14:31, etc.; II Kings 21:18, 26; Ezek. 43:7 f.; but in later literature dead bodies and graves render anyone who touches them ceremonially "unclean" (Deut. 26:14; Ezek. 43:7 f.; Num. 19:11; Matt. 23:27). Bones of the dead defile the altar of Yahweh (I Kings 13:2; II Kings 23:14, 16, 20). This change from "holy" to "unclean" can be explained only as due to a growing consciousness that the ancient sanctity of tombs was inconsistent with the sole authority of Yahweh. Hence corpses and everything connected with them were placed under a ban. That this is the correct interpretation of the taboo is shown, (1) by the fact that it is called "uncleanness for a spirit" (*nefesh*) (Lev. 21:1, 11; 22:4; Num. 5:2; 6:6, 11; 9:6 f., 10; 19:11 f.; Hag. 2:13), which shows that the uncleanness does not come from the corpse but from the spirit associated with it; (2) by the fact that priests, who are specially connected with the worship of Yahweh, are allowed to "defile themselves for a spirit" only in a few exceptional cases (Lev. 21:1-4, 11), and that nazirites are not allowed to defile themselves at all (Num. 6:6).

10. *Sacrifice*.—By all primitive peoples sacrifices were offered upon the grave in addition to the gifts of food, drink, etc., that were buried with the corpse. Thus in the *Odyssey* (xi.28-46) Ulysses pours out to the shades the blood of sheep, and makes libations of milk, honey, wine, and water, on which white meal is sprinkled.²³

Among the Arabs the cooking-pot and dishes of the deceased were broken, and his camel was lamed and tethered near the grave to die of starvation. About 1100 A. D. certain Arabs of northern Yemen honored a dead chief by breaking a thousand swords and three hundred bows, and by laming seventy horses. Not merely at the time of burial, but also subsequently camels were slain. An early poet laments that he cannot sacrifice his camel to his friend because it is the only one that he possesses. Besides blood, libations of water and of milk were poured upon graves, and the wish was expressed that much rain might fall upon them. In some parts of Arabia fragrant wood was burned as incense. These customs have

²³ See Jevons, *Introduction*, pp. 51 f.; D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 17; De la Saussaye, *Manual*, pp. 114 f.

lasted down to the present day both among the Bedawin and among the Arabs of Syria.²⁴

Among the Babylonians sacrifices and libations were offered periodically at tombs. The regular pouring-out of libations of water was a duty that devolved upon the oldest son, or the legal heir, and that might not be neglected without incurring 'the wrath of the deceased.'²⁵ An ancient bronze tablet represents a dead man lying on a bier, with priests surrounding him, and an altar for burning incense near his head.²⁶ A king of Assyria, whose name is missing, records how he celebrated the obsequies of his father, and closes with the words: "Gifts unto the princes, unto the spirits of the earth, and unto the gods who inhabit the grave, I then presented."²⁷ King Ashurbanipal also records that he invoked the shades of his ancestors, and poured out libations in their honor.

Among the Hebrews the persistence of sacrifice to the dead down to a late time is attested by the confession in Deut. 26:14, "I have not given thereof for the dead." According to Josephus (*Ant.*, XIII, 8, 4; XVI, 7, I; *War*, I, 2, 5), the tomb of David was filled with treasures; and according to II Chron. 16:14, Asa's tomb was filled with sweet odors and spices, and they made a very great burning for him. According to Jer. 34:5; II Chron. 21:19, this was the usual custom at the burial of kings. Ps. 106:28 declares of the forefathers, "They ate the sacrifices of the dead." Tob. 4:17 commends offerings to the dead: "Pour out thy bread on the tomb of the just;" and similarly Ecclus. 7:33: "A gift hath grace in the sight of every living man, so from a dead man keep not back grace" (cf. II Macc. 12:42 ff.). Ecclus. 30:18 (in the Greek); Ep. Jer., vss. 31 f.; Wisd. 14:15; 19:3; Sibylline Oracles, viii. 382-84; Jubilees, 22:17 mention the cult of the dead as practiced in their day, but regard it as useless and wicked. In later Judaism the saying of the *Kaddish* by the oldest son takes the place of the ancient sacrifices.²⁸

²⁴ Wellhausen, *Reste*², pp. 177-84; Nöldeke, *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 672; Burckhardt, *Beduinen und Wahaby*, pp. 84 f.; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 240, 354, 442, 450 ff.; Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion*, chap. xix.

²⁵ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia*, p. 559.

²⁶ King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 39.

²⁷ King, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

²⁸ Margoliouth, *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 459.

Intimately connected with sacrifices to the dead were funeral feasts, in which one partook of the offerings, and thus sealed one's communion with the spirits of the departed. Such feasts have lasted down to modern times in many countries where their original connection with sacrifice has been forgotten. Their existence among the Hebrews is attested by Jer. 16:7: "Neither shall men break bread for a mourner to comfort him for the dead, nor shall one give him the cup of consolation to drink on account of his father or his mother"; also by Ezek. 24:17 (emended text), "Eat not the bread of mourning." Since eating these offerings involved participation in the worship of another god than Yahweh, it rendered one "unclean" (Hos. 9:4; Deut. 26:14).

Sacrifice to the dead explains the importance attached by all ancient peoples to male descendants. Among the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and other patriarchally organized races, the duty of sacrificing to a father devolved upon his oldest son. If there were no son, there would be no offerings, and the ghost could not rest. Among the Babylonians, if a man had no son, he adopted one. Women also adopted daughters under similar circumstances. Thus, in a tablet of the Cassite period²⁹ we read: "Ina-Uruk-rishat . . . had no daughter, therefore she adopted Eṭirtu . . . So long as Ina-Uruk-rishat lives Eṭirtu is to show her honor. If Ina-Uruk-rishat dies, then shall Eṭirtu, as though she were her daughter, make libations of water for her."

Among the Hebrews also the duty of bringing sacrifices and libations rested upon the oldest son. Hence the double portion given to the firstborn (Deut. 21:15 ff.). Childlessness was regarded as the greatest possible misfortune (Gen. 30:1; I Sam. 1:5 f.), and the proper blessing for a bride was, "Be thou the mother of thousands of ten thousands" (Gen. 24:60). Yahweh punished men even in the other world by cutting off their posterity (Exod. 20:5; 34:7; Num. 14:18; Deut. 5:9), and victors destroyed an enemy's children in order that his ghost might receive no offerings. If a man had no sons by his first wife, he took a second wife, or his wife gave him her female slaves as concubines (Gen. 16:1 f.). If these means failed, a slave, or some person outside of the family, was adopted as a son,

²⁹ Clay, *Documents Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers*, No. 40.

and was given the inheritance on condition that he kept up the ancestral rites (Gen. 15:2 f.). If this device also failed, the nearest male relative of the deceased was required to take his widow and raise up seed for him (Gen. 38:16; Deut. 25:5; Ruth 2:20; 3:13; 4:5). This painful anxiety to secure a son is explainable only by the desire to obtain after death those gifts without which one's soul could not rest.

11. *Prayer*.—In ancient times prayer was the invariable accompaniment of sacrifice. Among the Semites prayer to the dead is well attested. Among the Hebrews also it must have existed in early days, but there is no clear evidence of it in the Old Testament. Laments addressed to the dead come near to it (see above, par. 6), and the calling-up of the dead by necromancy (see below, par. 12) is also closely related. Isa. 63:16, "Thou art our father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us," seems to imply invocation of the patriarchs by some at least of the nation. This cult has not completely died out even from modern Judaism. Abraham is still entreated in much the same way as the saints of Islam or of Roman Catholicism.³⁰ Moses and Elijah are invoked in various parts of the Jewish liturgy, and the prayer to Elijah offered by the Sephardic Jews in modern Palestine differs in no respect from the prayer offered to the Muhammadan patrons.³¹

12. *Necromancy*.—The belief that spirits of the dead could be called up by magic arts to assist the living, or to reveal the future, was held by the Semites in common with other ancient peoples. The Arab magician had his *tābi'* or "follower," i. e., his familiar spirit. In Babylonia "raiser of the departed spirit" was the standing title of the necromancer. In the *Gilgamesh Epic* (tablet xii, col. 3) we have an account of how Gilgamesh raised the ghost of Eabani and held converse with him. In ancient Israel such arts must have existed from the beginning. Necromancy was common in the time of Saul, although it was regarded as inconsistent with the religion of Yahweh (I Sam. 28: 7-9). Isaiah still had reason to denounce it: "When they say unto you, Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that gibber and moan, give this answer: Should not a people rather

³⁰ Winterbotham, "The Cultus of Father Abraham," *Expositor*, 1896, pp. 177-86.

³¹ Margoliouth, in *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 458 ff.

consult its God? On behalf of the living, should men consult the dead?" (Isa. 8:19; cf. 19:3; 28:15, 18; 29:4). This practice flourished in the time of Manasseh (II Kings 21:6), and Josiah made an effort to abolish it (II Kings 23:24). It seems to be mentioned also in Isa. 57:9; 65:4. The prohibition of necromancy by Deuteronomy (18:11) and by the Holiness Code (Lev. 19:31; 20:6, 27) shows that it was common in the later days of the monarchy, but that it was regarded by the religious leaders of the nation as irreconcilable with the exclusive worship of Yahweh.

From the foregoing survey it appears that the cult of the dead was one of the most ancient and most firmly intrenched forms of religion among the Hebrews. The religion of Yahweh encountered no more formidable rival, and centuries of conflict were necessary before it was finally overcome. The history of that conflict will be the theme of a later article.

SECOND PETER 1:5-7: A STUDY IN TRANSLATION

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And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity.—King James or Authorized Version, 1611.

Yea, and for this very cause adding on your part all diligence, in your faith supply virtue; and in *your* virtue knowledge; and in *your* knowledge temperance; and in *your* temperance patience; and in *your* patience godliness; and in *your* godliness love of the brethren; and in *your* love of the brethren love.¹—English Revised Version, 1881.

The variations in the two versions are striking and suggest study. The older version has the merit of being easy to understand. The wayfaring man who hears it will know what it means. The new version is presumably more faithful to the original, but the wording "in your faith supply virtue" is ambiguous. What it means I do not know, and a little inquiry among intelligent people, not theologians, shows that it conveys no definite meaning to the average reader. The rendering here *transfers* the Greek idiom; it does not *translate* it. The Greek text, with no important variation in the MSS, runs as follows:

καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δὲ σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες ἐπιχορηγήσατε ἐν τῇ πίστει ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γνῶσει τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐγκρατεῖᾳ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπομονῇ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν φιλαδελφίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ τὴν ἀγάπην.

Four points demand consideration: (1) the opening words of connection; (2) the participial clause; (3) the verb *ἐπιχορηγεῖν*; (4) the various virtues or graces.

1. The passage opens with a common Greek idiom, *αὐτὸ τοῦτο*,

¹ The margin gives "self-control" for "temperance," while the American Revision puts "self-control" in the text, and also restores "brotherly kindness," thus avoiding the awkward conclusion of the English Revision. For "patience" the American Revision gives in the margin "stedfastness."

which is found in Xenophon and Plato. "For this very reason or purpose," "on this very account," are satisfactory translations, and here the new Revision is clearly superior to the old which misses the logical connection. The thought of the preceding verses is that God has called us by his own glory and virtue to a holy life; that to encourage us he has given great and precious promises, in order that we may escape the corruption which is in the world through evil desires, and may become partakers of the divine nature. "For this very reason, then," the thought goes on, "we are to be diligent to grow in virtue and holiness."

2. The participial clause. The A.V., "giving all diligence," and the R.V., "adding on your part all diligence," are literal translations of the Greek, but are not idiomatic English. One would not write to a friend, "Using all diligence, avoid accidents," but "Be very careful to avoid accidents." The force of the participle is of course with the following verb, and it should be rendered with it. "Use all diligence to add to your faith," or "Take every care to supply," etc.

3 The verb *ἐπιχορηγεῖν* and its context. The real difficulty lies here, as a comparison of some of the varying translations will show:

Vulgate: "Ministrate in fide vestra virtutem."

Wyclif: "Minister in your faith virtue."

Luther: "Reichet dar in euren Glauben Tugend."

Tyndale: "In your faith minister virtue."

Rheims: "Join with your faith virtue."

Tremellius: "Adiicite fidei vestrae virtutem."

A. V.: "Add to your faith virtue."

Dean Alford: "Provide in [the exercise of] your faith virtue."

R. V.: "In your faith supply virtue."

Twentieth Century N. T.: "Take every care to see that your faith is not severed from a good life."²

The verb *χορηγεῖν* had its origin in the Athenian custom of maintaining a state Chorus which the person chosen as choregus had the expensive honor of equipping or even of supporting. Hence the verb came to mean "to furnish," "to supply," "to equip," "to provide." The compound *ἐπιχορηγεῖν* means strictly "to furnish" or

² This rendering begins admirably but its conclusion lacks the simplicity which this translation aims to give.

“supply besides” or “in addition,” but sometimes it has only the force of the simple verb. The Vulgate *ministrare* and the “minister” of the older versions correspond closely to the Greek as the English dictionaries show, for the first meaning of the verb minister is “to furnish,” “to provide,” “to supply.” But the rendering “supply in your faith virtue” is not clear. Does it mean that those to whom the letter is written have faith without virtue, and virtue without knowledge, etc. ? Does it mean that *in place of* faith they are admonished to supply virtue, and so on ? Or does it mean that *in the exercise of* faith they are to show virtue ? This is Dean Alford’s interpretation and has much to commend it. As the Revision stands the translators seem simply to have transferred an ambiguity from the Greek to the English. By so doing they have avoided the possibility of a wrong translation, or a wrong interpretation, but this is a doubtful merit. He who translates must frequently interpret where there is ambiguity and therefore possibility of error. A translation for the people must be one which the people can understand.

4. The several virtues or graces These are rendered with considerable variation as the table illustrates:

Greek	Vulgate	Wyclif	Tyndale	Amer. R.V.
πίστις	fides	faith	faith	faith
ἀρετή	virtus	virtue	virtue	virtue
γνῶσις	scientia	cunning	knowledge	knowledge
ἐγκράτεια	abstinentia	abstinence	temperancy	self-control
ὑπομονή	patientia	patience	patience	patience
εὐσέβεια	pietas	piety	godliness	godliness
φιλαδελφία	amor fraterni- tatis	love of brother- hood	brotherly kind- ness	brotherly kind- ness
ἀγάπη	charitas	charity	love	love

Rheims follows the Vulgate. A.V. is like Tyndale except in reading “charity” for “love.” “Self-control” is today a broader word than “temperance,” and “love” than “charity.” “Godliness” has a quaint sound and we may substitute “holiness.” Φιλαδελφία is the most difficult to render as no single word exactly corresponds, and the repetition of a phrase mars the sound of the translation. “Brotherly kindness” seems the best rendering of those found in the various versions, but “brotherly affection” is perhaps more faithful to the original. I would suggest that the adjective “Christian” be

prefixed to the word "love" to make the sense more distinct. The list will then run,—Faith, Virtue, Knowledge, Self-control, Patience, Holiness, Brotherly affection, Christian love.

The question now arises whether the virtues are here arranged in an ascending series. Dr. Bigg calls attention to the "Progression" (*προκοπή*) of the Stoics, in which there is gradual approach toward virtue. The Pauline use of the noun and of the verb *προκόπτειν* shows familiarity with the Stoic sense.³ Yet the Pauline lists of virtues (Gal. 5:22, 23, or Phil. 4:8, etc.) group them by kinds rather than in a progressive series. The list before us begins with Faith and culminates in Love, reminding us of the Faith, Hope, and Love of I Cor. 13:13, or of the phrase, "Faith working through Love" (Gal. 5:6), but the intention is not to form the virtues into a ladder leading up to heaven, nor to set them up as milestones along the way of life, but to show that all are needed in a harmonious and perfect character. The Christian virtues are not fractions which together make up the unit of divine virtue, but they are inseparable in the holy life which becomes gradually "partaker of the divine nature"

What has just been said has a plain bearing on the translation of the verb. Rendered literally it means "to provide in addition." The A. V. "add to your faith virtue" comes close to the sense here required. The Rheims translation "join with your faith virtue" is even better. As an alternative for the margin may be added Dean Alford's wording "in the exercise of your faith provide virtue." The following translation is accordingly suggested:

And for this reason use your utmost care to join with your faith virtue,⁴ and with virtue knowledge, and with knowledge self-control, and with self-control patience, and with patience holiness, and with holiness brotherly affection, and with brotherly affection *Christian* love.

³ Note Gal. 1:14; Phil. 1:12, 25; I Tim. 4:15.

⁴ Or, "In the exercise of your faith to provide virtue, and in your virtue knowledge," etc.

THE EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE

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II

We need merely scan the dates given on pp. 26 f., to see that there is absolutely no room for the centuries of Babylonian overlordship in Palestine assumed by the pan-Babylonians for the period before Egyptian influence began.³⁸ On the other hand, when we reach the Amarna period, *ca.* 1400 B. C., we suddenly find Babylonian the diplomatic language of the oriental world. The Pharaoh of Egypt carries on his correspondence with the kings of Babylonia, the Mitannians and Hittites, as well as with the local governors of the cities of Syria and Palestine, in the Babylonian language and the cuneiform script. This astonishing fact was brought out by the discovery of the el-Amarna letters.³⁹ The excavations at Tell el-Hesi, Lachish, produced a letter which proved to belong to the same period; in fact, it contains the name of one Zimrida, probably the same who is mentioned in the letters discovered in Egypt. Again, in the ruins of Tell Taanach a number of letters were found which proved that the Babylonian language and script were used in the correspondence between the governors of neighboring cities and in administrative documents. These must also be dated approximately 1400 B. C. How

³⁸ It is instructive to read such a chapter as Sayce's on "Babylonia and Palestine," in the *Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, pp. 135 f., to see how sweeping may be the conclusions drawn from the slightest evidence. After showing that Palestine was a Babylonian province from the time of Sargon, according to his dating, 3800 B. C., possessed of all the culture of that mighty empire on the Euphrates, Sayce must admit, when he takes up the excavations in Palestine, that "apart from the cuneiform tablets [the el-Amarna letters are meant] the more strictly archaeological evidence of Babylonian influence upon Canaan is extraordinarily scanty," p. 151; but he consoles himself, p. 158, with the statement, "But neither in archaeology nor in anything else is negative evidence of much value." The seal-cylinder found at Taanach and referred to by Sayce, p. 152, n., as "earlier than B. C. 2000," was found in a stratum of later date (*Tell Ta'annek*, pp. 27, 28).

³⁹ Discovered in el-Amarna, Egypt, 1887. The best and latest critical edition has been issued by Knudtzon in *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, 2.

are these facts to be explained? The pan-Babylonians point to these letters as positive proof of their hypothesis of centuries of Babylonian supremacy in the "West," and it is probable that if no excavations had been conducted in Palestine the hypothesis would have received general acceptance. Is another explanation possible? The writer believes that the following hypothesis is more nearly in accord with the historical and archaeological data than is that of the pan-Babylonians.

We have seen how Thutmose III reached the Euphrates on his triumphal march northward, how the king of Babylonia as well



CITADEL OF ALEPPO
(Aleppo was one of the Hittite strongholds)

as the Hittite king sent presents to the victorious Pharaoh. But it is evident from the Amarna letters that the work of Thutmose was soon undone. The disturbing influence was the Hittites. We have already seen how the Hittites had invaded northern Babylonia as early as the reign of Samsu-ditana, and that this was probably the reason why the Cassites were able to overthrow this king and his dynasty. For some reason, the Hittites did not follow up their success in Babylonia at this time: probably because of the rise to power of a related people, the Mitannians.⁴⁰ The Amarna letters show Tushratta,

⁴⁰ Ungnad, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VI, 5, pp. 8 f., shows, on the basis of the personal names of the earliest Assyrian inscriptions, that the founders of the city of Ashur, the early capital of Assyria, whose founding falls before the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, were Mitannians.

king of Mitanni, in active correspondence with Amenhotep III, but this correspondence suddenly breaks off with the death of this Pharaoh, and we have no more letters from Mitanni princes to the Egyptian court. The excavation of the Hittite capital, the modern Boghaz-köi, by Winckler, has explained this. Tablets found there show that Subbiluliuma, king of the Hittites, who was also in correspondence with Amenhotep III, took advantage of a dispute about the succession in Mitanni⁴¹ to interfere, and this country was henceforth under Hittite suzerainty. It is evident from the letters of Rib-Addi of Gebal (Byblos), and other Syrian princes, that the Hittite king was just as active in Syria, and that he was laying his plans to wrest the whole of this country from the Pharaoh.⁴² From the Boghaz-köi documents we learn that Aziru of Amurru, who had been wavering between Egypt and Hatti, finally went over to the latter, submitting to the sovereign of the more powerful state. This attitude we find common in the later history of Israel, when the kings waver between Assyria or Babylonia on the one hand, and Egypt on the other.

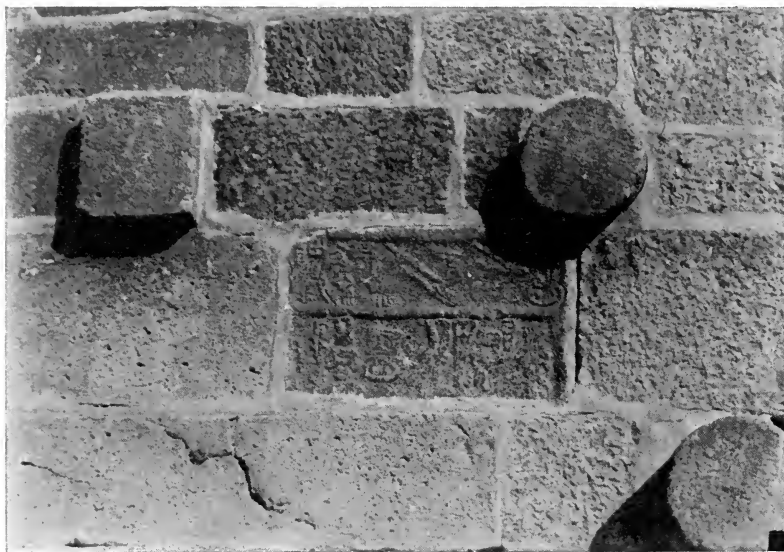
In a word, it is evident from the latest discoveries in the Hittite country, and might have been inferred from the Amarna letters, that there must have been considerable Hittite influence in Syria and Palestine about 1400 B. C.⁴³ Evidence that confirms this conclusion is found in the personal names in these letters. A large

⁴¹ Tushratta died shortly after the death of Amenhotep III.

⁴² A few quotations from the Amarna letters will illustrate this: Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 31. ll. 55 f., Rib-Addi writes to the Pharaoh: "Further; behold we have been the faithful servants of the king from earliest days. Further: behold, I am thy faithful servant, and yet I am sorely oppressed. Behold this word, 'I am the dust of thy feet, O king' . . . Who are they—the sons of Abdi-Ashirta [The reference is to Aziru and Japa-Addi of Amurru] that they have seized the land of the king? The king of Mitanni are they, and the king of Kashi, and the king of Hata [the Hittite land]." That is to say, they are acting in the interests of these kings. Rib-Addi is particularly distressed by the sacking of the city Sumur in his province by Aziru. When the Pharaoh wrote to Aziru about it, he replied, in his usual evasive way, that he was prevented from rebuilding this city by the kings of another city who were hostile to him, but that he would attend to the matter "at once." To the question of the Pharaoh, why he receives the diplomatic agents of the Hittite king and neglects the Pharaoh's agents, Aziru replies, "Surely this land belongs to my lord, and the king has appointed me regent over it."

⁴³ Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 196, argues against the generally accepted identification of part of the Habiri with the "Hebrews," and sees in them Hittite condottieri. The Old Testament records continually mention the Hittites along with the Canaanites as early inhabitants of Canaan.

percentage of the persons mentioned in these documents bear non-Semitic, and therefore, in all probability, Hittite names. This is naturally more noticeable in the letters from the Syrian states,⁴⁴ but the king of Jerusalem also bears a Hittite name, Abdi-Hepa. Hepa is the name of a Hittite goddess and is found in such names as Tatu-Hepa, Gilu-Hepa and Pudu-Hepa, all genuinely Hittite personal names.⁴⁵



HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTION
(Built into the wall of a mosque at Aleppo)

When we bear in mind that in less than fifty years after the death of Amenhotep IV the Hittites were in possession of Syria, and that they succeeded in fighting Rameses II to a standstill, so that he was compelled to conclude a treaty of peace with them, we have further evidence of Hittite influence in this country. In fact, scholars are now seriously asking the question whether the Hyksos invasion of Egypt some centuries earlier was not Hittite.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Cf. such names as Zurata, Zatatna, Shuwardata, Tagi, Labaya, and others. See the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, January, 1910, pp. 96 f.

⁴⁵ The first part of the name Abdi-Hepa, *servant* of Hepa, is not necessarily to be read *Abdi* at all. Cf. Winckler, *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 35, p. 48

⁴⁶ Cf. Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 442, note x.

We are thus in a position to suggest the answer to the question when and how cuneiform came into Canaan. In the opinion of the writer, the Mitannians borrowed the cuneiform writing from the Babylonians, and in turn gave it to their neighbors and successors, the Hittites, and from here it spread along with other Hittite influences into Syria and Palestine;⁴⁷ probably not long before 1400 B. C. The natural line along which the cuneiform writing would spread is that of trade. As Winckler has well said,⁴⁸ the merchant precedes the conqueror and explorer, and reaches more remote regions than either of these. Perhaps the most positive proof of the probability of this hypothesis lies in the fact that while the excavations in Palestinian mounds produced cuneiform tablets—at Tell el-Hesi, Gezer, and Taanach⁴⁹ such were found—in no case were tablets found which date from *before the Amarna period*.⁵⁰ If this is a coincidence it is certainly a most remarkable one.

From the Amarna letters we also learn that simultaneously with the invasion from the Hittite quarter, two other groups of peoples were pushing into Syria and Palestine, namely, the Sutû and the Habiri.⁵¹ These were evidently nomads pushing in from the desert,

⁴⁷ That the Babylonian language was not so well known in Canaan as some have inferred, is proved by the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna letters. These glosses are Canaanite words inserted at frequent intervals in the texts to explain some Babylonian word—evidently a word about which the writer himself was not certain, or one which he thought his reader might not know. Similar glosses are found in the "Arzawa letters," which are written in a non-Semitic language related to the Mitannian and Hittite.

⁴⁸ *Alte Orient*, VII, 2, p. 5.

⁴⁹ At Gezer and Jericho *uninscribed* tablets were also found. These date from this same period, as is shown by the strata in which they were found, *Quarterly Statement*, 1908, p. 187.

⁵⁰ The cuneiform tablets found at Boghaz-köi also date from this period. This may be a coincidence, because it is evident that Boghaz-köi had probably just been made the Hittite capital at this time. Further excavations in the Hittite countries must determine how early the Hittites made use of cuneiform, and also the relation of these tablets to the inscriptions, long since known, in Hittite hieroglyphs. Even if it should be shown that cuneiform reached the Hittites as early as the Hammurabi period, or even earlier, it would not affect our argument that it was not until the Amarna period that cuneiform was introduced into Palestine.

⁵¹ Winckler, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 35, p. 25, claims that the tablets discovered by him at Boghaz-köi make it certain that the Habiri and another people of whose name we were not certain from the writing of the Amarna letters, the so-called *Sa-Gaz* people, are one and the same group of people.

and scholars are almost unanimously agreed that the tribes who later combined into the "twelve" tribes of Israel were a part of the Habiri, or "Hebrews." It does not lie within the scope of this paper to discuss the exodus from Egypt and the historicity of the Hexateuchal accounts of the conquest of Canaan, but it is worth noting that the excavations in Palestine show that there is no break between the culture of the Canaanites and that of Israel. Let us hear the verdict of Sellin, the excavator of Taanach. Speaking of the events following upon the Amarna period, he says,⁵² "With reference to the later history of Taanach, it is to be noted especially that the excavations have demonstrated throughout the correctness of the view which is becoming more and more general, namely, that the occupation of the cities by the Israelites was gradual. There is no evidence of a break in the culture, but there is evidence of a very gradual development. The city will have remained Canaanite for some centuries longer, while the Israelites from the villages of the plain will have been gradually drawn into the city and assimilated."

This is the conclusion which must be drawn from the excavations at Gezer and the other Palestinian mounds.⁵³ We shall see the importance of this conclusion when we take up the discussion of the origins of Israel's religion in the light of the excavations.

While we are not certain where the boundary between the Hittite and Egyptian territory was located by the treaty between Rameses II and the Hittite king, "all Palestine and possibly some of southern Syria continued to pay tribute to the Pharaoh, probably until after the reign of Rameses III."⁵⁴ Eduard Meyer in summing up the history of this period says,⁵⁵ "The fact that Palestine was invaded from the east and south, and that it was not until long after they had established themselves in the hills that they succeeded in conquering or absorbing the Canaanite towns, remained a vivid memory among the descendants of the conquerors. But all the details of the conquest had been completely forgotten by the time the Jahwist collected the legends concerning early Israel, current in his day, and wove them into a connected narrative. That we do not have *history* here may perhaps be seen from a striking omission. The Old Testament does

⁵² *Tell Ta'anek*, p. 102.

⁵⁴ Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

⁵³ Cf. Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁵⁵ *Die Israeliten*, p. 226.

not give us any intimation of the fact that the early Israelites in Palestine were subject to Egypt for about two centuries, until after Rameses III. Not until the end of the Egyptian supremacy in Palestine, toward the end of the twelfth century B. C., do we begin to have real historical records. Our earliest historical records in the Old Testament are those which relate the deeds of Debora and Gideon."

About 1200 B. C., that is at the beginning of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, we find the peoples of the northern Mediterranean, the "peoples of the sea" or "Northerners," pushing southward in ever-increasing numbers.⁵⁶ This movement, which must have started considerably earlier,⁵⁷ brought the Indo-Germanic peoples south into Greece and Asia Minor, leading to the overthrow of the Minoan culture⁵⁸ in Crete, and probably also, of the Hittite state in Asia Minor,⁵⁹ and brought the Philistines into Palestine.

At Gezer Mr. Macalister discovered tombs whose structure Pro-

⁵⁶ Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 333 f.

⁵⁷ Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 159.

⁵⁸ It is a mistake to think, as the pan-Babylonians seem to do, that we have a sufficient explanation of the origin of all *oriental* culture in that of the Babylonians, or Sumerians. It is true they object to the term *Babylonian* culture, and prefer to speak of *ancient-oriental* culture, but in the practical application of their doctrine this distinction is forgotten, and Babylonia remains the source and center of all oriental culture. The student of the Old Testament who fails to follow the results of the excavations in Crete as well as those in "Semitic" countries, is missing one of the greatest opportunities of gaining a clearer understanding of the influences that entered into the history, life and religion of Palestine. In Crete there developed a culture (which we must regard as *oriental*, but not necessarily influenced to any great degree by *Semitic* culture), which spread over a period beginning perhaps as early as the First Dynasty of Egypt and extending down to the coming of the Greeks. Pottery, which must be regarded as Aegean, was found in First Dynasty tombs in Egypt (Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 50) and it is evident from the excavations in Palestine, that Aegean pottery was brought into Palestine, through the Phoenician traders, soon after the Canaanites built their first cities there. The student should not fail to read the chapter entitled "Crete and the East," in the book by Burrows.

⁵⁹ The coming of the Indo-Germanic peoples into Asia Minor and the farther East is discussed by Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*. We now know that they must have reached Asia Minor considerably earlier than could be inferred from the Assyrian inscriptions used by Prášek. At Boghaz-köi Winckler discovered a tablet containing the names of the gods Mithra and Varuna, which clearly points to Aryan peoples. The date of these tablets is shortly after 1400 B. C., a date corresponding roughly to that of the beginning of the invasion of Crete by the Northerners.

fessor Myres asserts "agrees in general with that of the 'shaft-graves' of Mycenae and Knossos, which belong to the late Minoan period (1300-1000 B. C.), and more closely with the Carian tombs at Assarlik." After discussing the contents of the tombs, he reaches the conclusion that they probably represent "the burials of a people who had invaded the Philistine coast land in the period of the Sea Raids, and maintained themselves there, in occasional contact with Cyprus, but not with anything further west, for a century or two after the tenth.



ASHDOD, MODERN ESDŪD. ONE OF THE FIVE PHILISTINE CITIES

This general character and these limits of date would, therefore, agree closely with the little we know of the Philistine occupation of Philistia."⁶⁰

The struggles of the less cultured Israelites with these people are well known from the Old Testament and need not be discussed here. It is interesting to notice that the Old Testament tradition has the Philistines come from Caphtor or Crete.⁶¹

Among the important archaeological discoveries which illustrate the later history may be mentioned the cuneiform tablets found at

⁶⁰ J. L. Myres, in *Quarterly Statement*, 1907, pp. 240 f.

⁶¹ For a discussion of Caphtor cf. *Ency. Biblica*, pp. 698 f.

Gezer⁶² which date from *ca.* 650 B. C. This points to Assyrian domination of Judah in the time of Manasseh. Last year a fragment of a neo-Babylonian tablet was found on the surface of the same mound.⁶³ At Megiddo a seal "belonging to Shama^c, servant of Jeroboam" was found,⁶⁴ and another with meaningless hieroglyphs, belonging to Asaph. Other "finds" will be discussed when we take up the early religion of Israel in the light of the excavations.

In conclusion let it be said that if the influence of Babylonia in Palestine seems to have been minimized, it is because the results of the excavations do not warrant the sweeping statements about this influence found in almost every book dealing with Old Testament subjects that has appeared in recent years. On the other hand, one reads little of Egyptian influence upon Palestine, although almost every spadeful of earth that is turned over in Palestine brings to light more evidence of this influence. The centuries of Babylonian influence prior to the Egyptian supremacy assumed by the pan-Babylonians have not left a trace in the Palestinian mounds thus far excavated: indeed, we have seen that there is no room for them. As long as the date of Sargon of Akkad was placed at *ca.* 3800, and that of Hammurabi at *ca.* 2300 B. C., such statements could pass unchallenged. But when Sargon's date must be put at *ca.* 2500 and Hammurabi's at *ca.* 2000-1900 B. C., and the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty at 2000-1788 B. C., with the earliest settlements thus far excavated in Palestine showing the influence of the Egyptians of this dynasty, it is high time that we readjust our statements to the facts. Even Old Testament scholars seem to have overlooked the importance of the latest changes in the chronology of early Babylonian history upon the questions of Babylonian influence upon Palestine. This point will come up again in the discussion of the early religion of Palestine.

⁶² *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, pp. 207 f., and 229 f.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1909.

⁶⁴ *Musesellim*, p. 99. The Jeroboam mentioned is probably Jeroboam II, 783-743 B. C.

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMAN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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In consideration of the present movement of woman for equality and for freedom to work out her destiny in life, and in consideration of the fact that every serious movement finds its explanation in its historic connection with earlier forms of social life, it is fitting that the race whose customs are best known to us through our sacred books should yield some insight into the social and religious relations of the women of the Old Testament. The great contrast between the woman of the present day and her of primitive times lies in the increasingly direct and immediate relationship borne to the community itself. The great public service of woman in the spread of education among the masses, her influence in literature and art, and the larger civic interests for which higher education has trained her, together with her industrial exploitation on the one hand and the increased duration and extension of the care of the child on the other hand, have changed the status of woman from that of an unfree subject to that of membership in the community with rights and duties all her own. In early society, woman was always in a state of dependence. Even in the stage of development of family life known as mother-right, when the man leaves his home and goes to live with his wife in the house of her father, marital power in the husband is not wholly lacking. It is only impaired by the presence of the woman's kinsfolk.¹ Woman in the Old Testament is subject to the "Chinese rule of the three obediences. When young she must obey her father; when married, she must obey her husband; and when her husband is dead, she must obey her son."² The subserviency of Leah and Rachel to their father Laban, of Sarah to the will of Abraham in Egypt, of Rebekah to her brother Laban and later to Isaac, her husband, in

¹ Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* p. 656.

² *Ibid.*, p. 647.

Gerar, are only illustrations of the position of the ordinary woman in Israel. Whenever the sphere of woman's actions seems to point to dominance in community affairs, it betokens liberties taken by the woman of intelligence and strong personality rather than privileges granted her by custom. Deborah, Jezebel, Jael, Huldah are the exceptional women in Israel, commensurate in character to Jeanne d'Arc, Madame Curié, and Jane Addams.

Man's general relation to the group, then, has been much the same at all epochs, the change having taken place chiefly in the extent and character of the group to which the individual appeals. But woman has come out of a status where she was the property of man, rated with his ox and his ass, into a position where she demands consideration as an end in herself, even to the control of industrial and social conditions fostering the modern factory and the so-called white-slave trade. Now, whatever theoretical and idealistic losses may have come to woman in this changed relation to the group, it is fair to say that she has emerged as a "personality," whose full and free reaction to the groupal life will have awakened new ambitions and new inner strivings. While, then, a modern woman is free to react according to the increased extent and complexity of the general life, the woman of the Old Testament was limited, so far as the sphere of her action is concerned, to a group within a group. If, then, the woman of the Old Testament is to be sympathetically understood, we must learn something of her personal relations, we must enter the home as an intelligent observer of its changing form.

Now, in the study of an institution such as marriage, the type characteristic of the lowest people is often regarded as primitive and an invariable order of evolution is established through which every people is supposed to have passed. This would explain survivals of custom as survivals of a perfectly developed type rather than illustrations, sometimes, of arrested development checked by a strong evolutionary tendency in another direction. In the study of the institution of marriage, for example, matronymy is supposed to have preceded patronymy among all peoples: the reckoning of descent from the mother being regarded as a survival of mother-right. In the more careful study of separate peoples carried forward by the anthropologists, matronymy is found to be dependent upon certain

social and economic processes not characteristic of all peoples. "The reckoning of descent through the mother may be due to a desire to preclude marriage with the mother's kindred . . . if the father had many wives simultaneously or successively."³ Or it may be "due to the apparently closer physiological relation between the mother and child and a convenience in polygamy; in case of separation, infants and even older children following the mother."⁴ Fortunately for us, the types of marriage are strewn over our general field in disarray too great for dogmatization. For "nowhere else is a bald statement of a law so likely to mislead as to actual practice or living sentiment." We seek in this little study, to recover the concrete situation in the home of Israel, in an endeavor to reach the woman, her duties, her rights, her desires. More particularly would we ask, along what lines did she seek the fuller expression of her social self; what gave her the sense of achievement in life; what actual results were esteemed valuable by objective standards?⁵

The most important relation of woman in early society was that of wife. It is evident from the Genesis-stories that more than one woman in the home was dignified with the name. When there is a difference in status, the inferior wife is known as concubine. Jacob married sisters, equal in rank in Jacob's tent. The inferiority of the concubines lay in the fact that a bride-price was paid by Jacob for Leah and Rachel (Gen. 31:15) while Zilpah and Bilhah were slaves otherwise acquired (Gen. 29: 24, 29). The first place might be accorded her who had borne the first son. This was the cause of the insubordination of Hagar to the chief wife Sarah (Gen. 16:4), Hagar being the slave of Sarah, presented by Sarah herself, to the head of the household. Such was the custom of the childless wife, the son of the slave being adopted as her own (16:2, cf. 30:6). In Babylonia, the law of Hammurabi maintained the supremacy of the chief wife; the children might be acknowledged by the father (§§ 144 ff., 170). It is not clear from our story whether Hagar was thought of as a slave or secondary wife at her expulsion. Perhaps among a people where the free daughter sold as a bond-woman

³ Cunow.

⁴ Westermarck.

⁵ James H. Tufts, "Psychology of the Family," *Psychological Bulletin*, No. 4, pp. 371-74.

usually became a concubine, the distinction between the two is very slight (Exod. 21:7-11).

All the sons inherit from the father, the status of the mother having slight influence upon legitimacy; the first-born receives a double portion and the headship of the family. In the earlier story of Sarah and Hagar the strife concerned the status of the wife (J, Gen., chap. 16); in the later account it centers about the rank of the sons (E, Gen., chap. 21). That such a situation was of frequent occurrence in the Beduin tent and was rich in emotional interest is shown by the narratives surviving in Hebrew literature which play about the problems and emotions of sex in a polygamous household. Sarah has a dramatic interest for the group gathered about the story-teller as opposed to that of Hagar for the modern.⁶

In the case of two or more wives of the first rank, popular opinion rated a man child as the compensatory gift made by Yahwe to the less attractive wife. It is so in the case of Leah (Gen. 29:31-35) and it was so with Peninnah (I Sam. 1:5); even Jacob voices this sentiment to Rachel (Gen. 30:2). So sharply defined did the situation become that the later law (P) forbade the marriage of sisters (Lev. 18:18), and a wise man enumerated among the things difficult to bear "the odious woman when she is married and the handmaid that is heir to her mistress" (Prov. 30:23). When it threatened the primogeniture of the firstborn, it was caught up by the law (Deut. 21:15-17), the original situation of the two wives, the number in the household of the ordinary Israelite, persisting; the one beloved, the other hated, the less attractive having borne the first son. The keenness of the rivalry in our stories is shown by the desperate character of the means employed. Sarah used the customary method of adoption (J, Gen. 16:2); Rachel, outwitted by Leah in this device, practiced magic charms with love apples⁷ (Gen. 30:14, 15); Hannah pours out her soul in prayer to Yahwe, vowing her son to his service (I Sam. 1:10-16).

Evidently, the domestic status of a woman is wrapped up with child-bearing. If we seek the physiological reason for this, it lies in the fact that "the ability to leave progeny is one of the success-

⁶ See Gunkel, *Commentary on Genesis*, Introduction.

⁷ *Ibid.*

winning characters in the struggle of natural selection."⁸ The social reason is found in the origin of the family, as John Fiske has shown, to answer the need of the child during the prolonged period of infancy. In Israel the influence of a man was measured by the numbers in his family rather than by riches in cattle or land. Children are evidence of luck in life; a childless man has little value for his group, and in death he loses a mysterious good, assured him in the performance by his son of certain ancestral rites (II Sam. 18:18). These conditions, physiological, social, and religious create an objective standard for a woman enforced by public recognition. This standard is sanctioned by "that identity of interest between a man and his wife, evolved by life together in the home."⁹ Motherhood is also a tie stronger than that of youth or beauty, binding the husband to his wife, and a son is popularly regarded as a refuge against the hopeless misery of widowhood. Thus the welfare of the Israelite woman is indissolubly bound up with that of the child. It is the pressure of the *whole* of life which finds voice in Rachel's agonized cry: "Give me children or I die."

Legally the wife was the property of her husband. He was her Baal, master, or owner (Exod. 21:3, 22; Prov. 31:11); she was his Be'ulah, or chattel (Gen. 20:3 [E]; Deut. 22:22; Isa. 54:1; 62:4). In the law, she is listed with his ox and ass (Exod. 20:17; cf. Deut. 5:21), ranked after his children (Deut. 29:11), and dropped altogether from the family list, where her personality is completely merged into that of her husband (Deut. 12:12; Num. 18:11, 19). As chattel, she may be surrendered for the protection of a guest (Judg., chap. 19), be made to serve the commercial advantage of her owner (Gen. 12:13, 15, 16; 20:2 ff.), be disposed of with the ancestral estates (Ruth 4:3-5), be brutally punished (Gen. 38:24; Lev. 21:9), or be expelled at will from the home (Deut. 24:1). Injury to her person was rated as damage to property, compensation for which was accepted by the male in authority over her (Exod. 21:22; Deut. 22:19).

Acquired through the payment of a *mohar*- or bride-price, the legal valuation of a woman was 50 shekels (about \$20), 20 shekels more than the valuation of a slave, about one-half that of a man

⁸ E. C. Parsons, *The Family*.

⁹ J. H. Tufts, *op. cit.*

(Deut. 22:29; Exod. 21:32; Lev. 27:1-7). Plurality of wives was a sign of wealth and social distinction, especially that of royalty. Monogamy, on the other hand, was the badge of poverty. The patriarchs were chiefly bigamists: Gideon had many wives, David increased the number of his with his advancement in political power, Solomon had 700 wives, princesses, and 300 concubines. Rehoboam, Abijah, Zedekiah had both wives and concubines, and the "palace-women" of Hezekiah are cited in the list of booty taken by Sennacherib from Jerusalem.

Not only does the law permit polygamy (Deut. 21:10 ff., 15-17), the Song of Songs celebrates it (6:8), the prophetic literature makes use of it as a symbol in ascribing two wives to Yahwe, Israel and Judah (Ezek., chap. 23), and the Wisdom literature reveals its existence (Ecclesiasticus 26:6; 37:11; Prov. 30:23). The slight inequality among the wives of the same household in Israel indicates the manner of the transition made in Babylonia from polygamy to monogamy. The Babylonian is a monogamist in the sense that a higher position is granted the first wife and her children, and that the children of the secondary wife are discriminated against in the matter of inheritance. The law also limits the husband's right to a second marriage without the consent of the first wife to cases of barrenness only. Israel never *realized* monogamy throughout the entire period covered by the Old Testament (see II Macc. 3:19 f.; III Macc. 1:18), although it must have been the most common form of marriage among the poor. The background of Gen. 2:18, 24 is father-right versus mother-right, rather than monogamy versus polygamy.

The man alone had the right of divorce. This is partly due to the commercial form of marriage, whereby the woman belongs absolutely to the man. Her economic value is his; her love and fidelity are his due. On the other hand, the man is legally held only to "her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage" (Exod. 21:10). Infidelity is an attack upon property-rights, punishable, like robbery, by death (II Sam. 12:5; Gen. 44:9; Deut. 22:22-27; Lev. 20:10). Since the woman is the possessed and not the possessor, her personal grievances never enter into the situation excepting when the influence of her family is exerted in her behalf (II Sam., chap. 13). It becomes a less serious wrong to violate an unbetrothed than a betrothed maiden

(Deut. 22:28; Exod. 22:16). While a man is not answerable to his wife, the wife herself is held to the strictest account (Deut. 22:20; Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:10; Ezek. 16:38-40; 23:45-47; Num. 5:12 ff.). In this conception of the wife as property begins that double standard of morality which is the bane of the modern family. Divorce was not, however, limited to one cause in Israel. The ground of divorce is rather vaguely defined as "some unseemly thing" in the wife (Deut. 24:1), being a term about as general as the modern "incompatibility of temper," only the advantage in Israel lay wholly with the man. "Divorce is shared in equally by the wife only in very primitive or in highly advanced communities, where the idea of marital proprietorship has either not arisen or has disappeared."¹⁰ Practically, divorce was so frequent that it became one of the evils attacked by the prophets (Mal. 2:14 f.; Isa. 54:6 f.) and by Jesus the Christ, who does away with the old law through the enunciation of a new one (Matt. 5:31, 32). As far as the position of woman is concerned, there is little choice between a lax polygamy and a brittle monogamy. Polygamy is undoubtedly more advantageous for the child than an unstable monogamy, yet it involves less parental care than an enduring form of monogamy.

The subjection of woman to the man during this period is due less to the weakness of the woman than to the mastery of the man over life. The predatory life, so long experienced in Arabia, the warfare characteristic of the settlement in Canaan, created in the man an attitude of mastery toward life and toward that group more closely associated with himself in the family. The Samsons of that day were not all content that the wife should dwell among her own people (Judg. 14:10, 11; 15:1); cases of marriage by capture occur (Judg. 5:30; 21:12, 20 ff.; Deut. 20:14; 21:10-14) when the woman passes into the possession of her husband, the children taking descent from the father.

This natural desire of the husband for the full possession of his wife and children was increased by their economic value as cheap labor and as objects of barter (Exod. 21:7; Gen. 29:20, 27; Josh. 15:16, 17; I Sam. 18:25). Thus the woman leaves her own kin and *cultus* to enter the kin and *cultus* of her husband (Ruth 1:16), the

¹⁰ E. C. Parsons, *The Family*, p. 143.

children gain a father, the family gains strength and unity, all at the cost of the greater subjection of the woman. The authority of the patriarch over the compound family, pictured at the beginning of Hebrew history, is strengthened by special economic, juridical, and religious ties. Responsible for the offenses of any one member, the patriarch becomes both lawgiver and executioner. It is in an effort to soften the severity of his rule that a family law was codified in Deuteronomy. A bill of divorcement is required from the husband (Deut. 24:1-4), and remarriage after the woman has again been divorced is forbidden (cf. II Sam. 3:14; Hosea, chaps. 2, 3; Isa. 54:6 f.; Jer. 3:1, 8-14). The accusation of a jealous husband against his wife is brought before the judges, failure to substantiate the charge being punished by flogging, by a fine, and by deprivation of the right of divorce (Deut. 22:13-19). The rights of the hated wife and her son are protected (Deut. 21:15-17), the captive is allowed time for adjustment to her new life and freedom in case of the dissatisfaction of her husband (Deut. 21:10-14). The violation of the unbetrothed girl shall be atoned for by marriage without the right of divorce, the bride-price being paid to the father (22:28, 29). Compare with this the law in Exod. 22:16, 17, which gives to the father the right to decide whether there shall be a marriage. In the case of the rebellious son, the mother appears with the father before the judges (Deut. 21:19), probably in order that the mother may serve as the second witness to prove the charge (Deut. 19:15). If this be so, it is the only case in which a woman qualifies as a witness in court. Provision is made also for the abrogation of the levirate at the desire of the man and not that of the woman (Deut. 25:5-10). The divorced wife returns to her father's or brother's house with no legal provision for support by the husband, as shown in the Babylonian law, where the bride-price is returned and, in case of children, the portion of a son (§§137, 138, 142, 149). In Numbers the ordeal for the suspected wife is revived (5:12-31), and the will of the husband or father in the matter of the woman's vow is made supreme (Num. 30:3-15). The priestly-code restricts the relations within which marriage is possible (Lev., chap. 20), punishes with fire the sin of the daughter of a priest, and disqualifies the divorcée for marriage into the priestly-circle. In only one particular is greater freedom shown

the divorcée and widow: she may unrestrictedly bind her soul in vowing (Num. 30:9).

As a result of the prevalence of a lax polygamy and an unstable monogamy, and because many women would find it increasingly difficult to re-enter the marriage relationship, it is evident that a floating body of unattached women existed in Israel, camped about the threshold of their male relatives, given over to want and to the play of all the lawless forces in the community.¹¹ The appeal made by their condition meets a response in the sympathetic wail of the prophets and the poets: Deut. 10:18; 14:29; Job 22:9; 24:3; 31:16; Ps. 94:6; Isa. 1:17, 23; 10:1 ff.; Jer. 7:6; Ezek. 22:7; Zech. 7:10; Mal. 3:5; Ecclesiasticus 35:14 f.).

Barren and unattractive as such a career seems to a modern woman, it was ameliorated in practice by the play of human interests and emotions flooding all the interstices of the law. The love shown by Jacob for Rachel approaches very near the romantic type. The sympathy expressed by Elkanah in his efforts to make up to Hannah for the lack of a son is beautifully pathetic: "Hannah, why weepest thou? and why eatest thou not? and why is thy heart grieved? am not I better to thee than ten sons?" (I Sam. 1:8). The Israelite marriage, indeed, furnished the substance for that idealization of the relationship recorded in the prophetic conception of Yahwe's marriage to Israel. Prophecy teems with the tenderest appeals made on the ground of this relationship which is only possible when the refinement of marriage has begun.

That a mother received equal honor with the father is disclosed in the Law (Exod. 20:12; 21:15, 17; Deut. 27:16; Lev. 18:7; 20:9; cf. Ezek. 22:7) and by the aphorisms of the sage (Prov. 1:8; 4:3; 23:22; 29:15; 30:17). Jacob is cited as a son obedient to both father and mother (Gen. 28:7 [P]); Rahab contracted for the safety of both parents (Josh. 2:13, 18); the mother is of equal authority with the father in the story of Samson (Judg., chap. 14, esp. vs. 16); David had consideration for his mother as well as his father (I Sam. 22:3); the aged Barzillai desires burial by the side of his father and mother (II Sam. 19:37), and Elisha and Ruth leave father and mother, the one to follow the prophet (I Kings 19:20), the other to follow her husband's

¹¹ Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins*, p. 45.

mother. (Ruth 2:11; cf. Gen. 2:24). Both the Proverbs and Psalms bind the father and mother together in the relation to the child (Prov. 10:1; 15:20; 17:25; 19:26; 23:25; 28:24; 30:11; Ps. 27:10; 109:14). Lemuel is taught by his mother (Prov. 31:1); Solomon shows great honor to Bathsheba (I Kings 2:19; cf. 1:16); Deborah received the honorable title of a "mother in Israel;" the Psalmist calls himself "a servant of Yahwe, the son of thine handmaid" (Ps. 86:16; 116:16).¹² Thus woman is gradually coming into her own through the welfare of the child as, indeed, one line of influence in modern civilization has demonstrated.

A second way to independence lies through labor. In this field, a woman's activities have free play. Anthropologists tell us that all the domestic arts, all those lines of work now controlled by man and organized into trades, began in the skilled work of the woman. In Israel, also, she contributed to the temple by spinning cloth, linen, and goat's hair (Exod. 35:25). Her economic cleverness is extolled in the eulogy of Prov. 31:16-18, and her value is indirectly recognized by the Talmudist who differentiates among wives, as the beautiful, the well born, and those skilled in domestic arts. Incapacitated for herdsman duty by her ritualistic uncleanness, she shepherds the flocks and waters them at the public well (Gen. 29:9; Exod. 2:16 ff.), she gleans in the harvest fields (Ruth 2:8, 22 f.), and she shares in the perils and the joys of war (Exod. 15:20; I Sam. 18:6; Judg. 4:8-9, 18 f.).

The economic valuation of women was also influenced by that type of marriage known as matronymic, when the woman dwells with her own kin, the children taking descent from her. Certain survivals of mother-right in the Old Testament indicate the existence of such a type of marriage among the Israelites. That this was ever the predominating form is open to question. There is evidence to show that an excess in the number of men, due to the practice of infanticide, and the cultivation of a rude nomadic agriculture, especially that of the date palm, were conducive to polyandry and to the greater influence of the mother. The presence of warfare, on the other hand, and the life of the herdsman were conducive to polygamy

¹² See Dr. Max Löhr, *Die Stellung des Weibes zu Yahwe-Religion und Kult* p. 35.

and to the system of male kinship.¹³ Both forces were at work in primitive times among the Semites. Yet Israel's emergence into history is marked by the dominance of the father as head of the family, strengthened by judicial and religious bonds.

The pre-eminence given woman in matronymy reacted, however, upon her position as mother and her economic value in patronymy.

If, then, the ordinary woman of the Old Testament would be something more than the spoiled beauty of fortune, satirized by the prophet (Isa., chap. 3), she must find her career as a mother or in contributing something of real value to the home through her labor. Public recognition of her services was not wholly lacking, when it found utterance in the words of the Wise Man: "House and riches are an inheritance from fathers: but a prudent wife is from the Lord."

¹³ Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 ff.

JESUS' WORK IN GALILEE: HIS HEALING MINISTRY¹

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It is unlikely that a ministry of healing had any part in the early plans of Jesus. His mission was essentially spiritual. He felt himself called to lead men into a certain quality of life, and believed that such a life would end all human ills. Such was his interpretation of the current hope of the kingdom of God. He had grown up with the hope. The thought of the coming of the kingdom was the very atmosphere of the pious souls of Nazareth. The doing of God's will on earth as it is done in heaven became the passion and prayer of his life. It may have been early that Jesus came to the profound realization that in himself, in his motives, in his attitude toward others, in all his ambitions and endeavors, God's will was actually being done. He must have seen that the hopes of the kingdom could be fulfilled if men would be to God what he was, and would live with one another as he lived. The physical ills that distressed men would largely disappear when human relations were thus rectified, and God's goodness would supply all needs when right spiritual adjustments had been made. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

THE PLACE OF HEALING IN JESUS' MINISTRY

As Jesus entered upon the work of winning men to the quality of life which he had realized, evidently there would be little place in his plan for a ministry of healing. But he found himself at once in the midst of suffering. The kingdom of God as he conceived it was largely for the blessing of the unfortunate. The right relations of man with man meant that the poor would be helped, the oppressed would be free, the sufferers would find kindly ministry. Jesus' heart yearned over the troubled, and he gave to them his words of

¹ This study covers the International Sunday School Lessons for March 6, 13, and 20, 1910.

encouragement and hope. But what could be done for them? Even to superficial observation it is evident that very much suffering is unnecessary. Much of it is caused by wrongdoing and needs quite as much a moral as a physical cure. Much of it is the result of despondency and fear, and vanishes in the presence of a vital, buoyant faith. Jesus, in the splendid vigor of his temperate young manhood, feeling in himself the full tide of a life divine in its perfect purity, found himself face to face with human weakness. The healing ministry was the inevitable result. It was really incidental to his mission, but it grew out of the very spirit of his mission, and grew out of it inevitably.

It was those who were in need who came to Jesus. As he said himself, "they that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." The troubled, the weary, the heartsick, the sad, the suffering, thronged to the prophet whose words were so strong and brave, whose faith was so bright and conquering, who lived in the presence of the Infinite, and was so sure of God's care for men. Jesus could not turn away from them. He could not be satisfied to tell them that in the kingdom of righteousness their ills would be taken away. An immediate need called for an immediate help. In such a case we would think of money and the institutions of help that money can provide. But Jesus had no money, nor any access to the men of wealth, nor were there any institutions. So he gave himself. Freely, without stint, in gracious sympathy and love, he gave his own wonderful courage, faith, hope, to the sick, the outcast, the poor. How great was the outgo of vitality, the cost of the sympathy, the apostle somewhat realized who saw it and remembered the word of the prophet, "Himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases."

THE HEALING OF THE DEMONIACS

Our scientific interest, however, will not pause on the beautiful picture of strength helping weakness, and faith overcoming fear, but asks insistently the question, "How far did Jesus actually heal the sick?" The most notable cures—those which aroused the greatest interest and produced the deepest impression—were the cures of the demoniacs. And these offer the natural starting-point for such understanding of the healing ministry of Jesus as is possible to us.

There was in the ancient world a widespread belief in the presence and malevolent activity of demons. The earth was supposed to be full of these foul spirits, who, dreading disembodied existence, ever sought residence in such human beings as for any reason became subject to their influence. Probably then, as certainly in later times, it was thought that some wrongdoing rendered one susceptible to the incoming of the demons. It was believed that the demon or demons in a man would harass him with pain and cause serious mental disturbance. When therefore any such symptoms were manifest the demoniacal possession was assumed. A widespread belief of this nature would exercise the strongest kind of suggestion upon weak and unbalanced minds. Let a man become melancholy and nervous, he would begin to fear the demons. Such a fear would increase the abnormal symptoms. The fear would become a terror, and the unhappy wretch would degenerate into a condition of hysteria, idiocy, lunacy. One guilty of a sin that resulted in physical ill might in the same way come to think of himself as abandoned to the demons, and the same course of terror would produce conditions of abnormal consciousness. Such conditions have been observed in China in recent times, and are not entirely wanting even in our own land. In Jesus' day the phenomena were very general, and the explanation of the demoniacal possession was universal. It is manifest that such hallucination could best be treated by a powerful form of suggestion. This has always been the method of the exorcist. That it was used in Palestine is evident from Jesus' question, "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?"

There is nothing in the gospels that would lead us to think that Jesus gave any other explanation to these morbid phenomena than that which was current. But his sublime faith in the triumph of the spiritual was sufficient to make him quite sure that no man need be possessed by any evil. His mission was to lead men to be possessed by God. The casting-out of the demons was therefore a simple matter to his great faith. With the spiritual authority that belonged to that faith he commanded the demons to be gone. Under the powerful suggestion of this confident authority the wretched victims of the demoniacal hallucination were restored to sanity.

This produced the most profound impression upon the populace:

"Who is he that commandeth even the unclean spirits, and they obey him?" And there must have been a very large number of cases of healing. Naturally the expectancy would go far toward accomplishing the result. It is altogether probable that Jesus cured all those who came to him afflicted with this morbid malady.

THE WIDESPREAD HEALINGS

Allied in many respects to the psychic and physical conditions produced by the demoniacal hallucination were many forms of abnormality essentially neurotic in their character. We are realizing more and more how large an amount of bodily illness needs courage, faith, and hope rather than drugs. There must have been very many of the sick, to whom the vital personality of Jesus gave the courage necessary to a restoration to health. And how far this method of meeting disease can be effective under favorable conditions, he would be a bold man who would dogmatically declare. We are pleased to make distinction between functional and organic disease, and to admit that psychic cures may avail for the one and to deny their possibility for the other. But, after all, how little is known about the matter, and how constantly strange facts are arising to our astonishment. When recently the little cripple at the Cherry mine flung away his crutches and rushed into the arms of the father, who seemed to have returned from the dead, it was but another example added to the many already known of the extraordinary influence of intense emotion upon the physical organism.

The very large place which the record of the healings occupies in the gospels would indicate that they must have been very unusual in number and in character.

THE CONDITIONS FOR EXTENSIVE HEALING

It is probable that there have never been conditions so favorable for an extensive manifestation of psychotherapy as those created by the presence of Jesus in the environment in which he lived. There was the very large number of the demonized, regarded as the most hopelessly afflicted folk, whom he invariably healed. This extensive success would afford the basis for confirming the faith of Jesus in the power that he possessed, and for exciting the faith of the people.

There was thus produced an extraordinary expectancy of healing in the highest degree favorable to secure the results expected. A centurion, kindly, though a heathen, went to seek the Lord's help for his palsied servant. The servant was under the influence of the expectancy created by this undertaking. The record states that the healing was actually effected without even the presence of Jesus.

The pre-eminent factor in producing these results was of course the commanding personality of Jesus. There have been other healers, sometimes wonder-workers, sometimes seekers of notoriety, sometimes fanatics, sometimes mercenary charlatans. There have been other healers of pure and simple faith. But in no other as in Jesus was there such hope and love and invincible faith in God and in man; in no other as in Jesus was there such glorious confidence in the regnancy of the spirit combined with practical common-sense; in no other as in him was there such combination of strength and sympathy—perfect physical health and the intensest susceptibility to others' pain. The more one thinks of Jesus, the more one tries to imagine what his presence would mean to a discouraged soul and an enfeebled body, the less perhaps is one inclined to set limits to the healing power that he must have exercised upon the simple folk of Galilee.

THE EXTRAORDINARY DEMAND FOR HEALING

Naturally to the people the cures became the most significant element in Jesus' ministry. He spoke wonderful words, to be sure, but he cast out demons. Nothing so lies upon us like a pall as sickness. What can we do when our hearts are wrung with pain for those we love? Men will cross the world to consult a famed physician in the hope of healing. Ancient story is full of the search of the afflicted for a cure. Through the length and breadth of the land, therefore, it must have gone that the prophet of Nazareth was healing, and wherever Jesus went he was besieged. It is clear that the demand embarrassed him. He had no wish to offer signs of messiahship, or to secure allegiance through the bestowal of physical benefits. He knew that a spiritual faith is never so produced. It was his pity and love that led him to use the wonderful power which he found himself to possess, but he ever bade those who were healed to be

silent. Of course this was impossible, and the fame of the cures went through the land.

THE HEALING OF NATURE

But the record of the miracles of Jesus goes beyond anything for which a scientific explanation is possible. It is important to remember that our records come from an uncritical age. There was no scientific observer to report for us the events exactly as they occurred. There was a natural expectancy of miracle in connection with any extraordinary personality. And they did not think of miracle as our theological definitions have often expressed it. They did not mean a contravention of the laws of nature, or a manifestation of some higher and unknown law of nature, for they had no notion of natural law as we think of it at all. Miracle, as the name implies, was a marvel. So we regard many modern discoveries as marvelous, but the word "miracle" has become a theological term and we do not seriously use it in common speech. To the ancients, however, miracle, conceived as a highly extraordinary occurrence, was to be expected whenever conditions were sufficient to warrant it. The Messiah would of course work miracles. Jesus healed the demonized; why should he not heal nature? The distinction we should make would not have occurred to them. So we have the beautiful story of the stilling of the tempest. If demons could disturb the human consciousness, perhaps they could blow the waters of the lake into billows. And the authoritative voice that could say to the legion of demons, "Begone," could say to the winds, "Be still." Probably some actual occurrence produced the narrative. Perhaps in some storm the strong courage and faith of Jesus calmed the fearful fishermen, and the waves, heightened by their terror, were less dangerous as they regained their poise. And so the story grew that he had stilled the tempest. And the beautiful symbolic significance (perhaps, after all, the chief value of any miracle story) may have helped to give form to the record. Wherever Jesus went he must have carried courage and calm. If adverse conditions were not removed, the spirits of the dejected men who had to meet them were so lifted, that even natural difficulties seemed to vanish. And as they told the story of the life that he had lived among them they could remember nothing for which his presence had not sufficed.

THE TRADITION OF THE CURES

In some such way as above suggested the tradition of the cures must have arisen and been passed on. The disciples saw with different eyes from ours. Doubtless events which they have chronicled in all faithfulness we should describe differently if we saw the same events today. The gospels were written a generation after the time of Jesus, and the evangelists were not scientific experts. The great value of the narratives is the revelation they give to us of the impression that Jesus made upon those who knew him. One way in which they interpret the life so strikingly summed up in the vigorous word of Peter—"He went about doing good"—is in the beautiful stories of that good that he did. Many of them we can understand, and they interpret for us the spiritual power of Jesus. Many of the stories we frankly do not understand. Did Jesus heal a leper? We have seen strange things of late years, and it is bold to speak of the impossible, but certainly it is quite beyond any modern understanding. Some cases of healing, like the miracles on nature, belong to the heightening of the tradition, and reflect rather the impression produced by Jesus than the actual historical occurrences. Where the line is to be drawn each student will reverently determine for himself. At that point the criteria are likely to be largely subjective.

JESUS' ESTIMATE OF HIS CURES

We are on the safest ground when we accept Jesus' own estimate of his cures. In a very interesting passage (Luke 10:17-20) it is related that the disciples reported their own success in overcoming the demons. Jesus hailed it as a sign of the destruction of Satan and of the triumph of spiritual power over all evil. But he added the caution, "Nevertheless in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven." So he ever minimized miracle and healing. They were evidences of spiritual power. They reveal to us the effect of Jesus' person. They enable us to see his sympathy with all human weakness. They show us the goodness of God, through faith in whom healings were wrought then and may be wrought today. But beyond all lesser good that faith may bring is the companionship with God that Jesus made supreme. And the greatest of all miracles is Jesus himself.

Work and Workers

WITH the death of Professor William Arnold Stevens of Rochester Theological Seminary, on January 2, 1910, one of the leading New Testament scholars of America is removed. Professor Stevens was born in Granville, Ohio, in 1839. He was graduated from Denison University in 1862, and was professor of Greek in that institution, as his father was of Latin, from 1868 to 1877. From 1877 until his death he was Trevor professor of biblical literature and New Testament exegesis in Rochester Theological Seminary, exercising a wide influence over New Testament studies.

W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, editor of *The Expositor* and of *The British Weekly*, has been knighted by the King.

MARTIN SPRENGLING, New Testament fellow in the University of Chicago, has returned from a year and a half spent in the American School at Jerusalem and in the manuscript libraries of the Orient. In conjunction with Professor Ehrhardt of Strassburg, he discovered two uncial Greek manuscripts of the gospels previously unreported, dating from the seventh and eighth centuries. Professor Gregory has designated them **0167** and **0168** in his list of uncials.

GEORGE PARK FISHER, professor in Yale Divinity School since 1854, died December 20, 1909, at Litchfield, Conn. He was born at Wrentham, Mass, in 1827, was graduated at Brown in 1847, and studied theology at Yale, Andover, and abroad. He was professor of divinity at Yale from 1854 to 1861, and professor of ecclesiastical history from 1861 until sickness a few years ago obliged him to retire. His historical and theological works are numerous, and cover a wide field.

YALE UNIVERSITY has just received from Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan a gift of \$100,000 as an endowment of a chair of Babylonian and Assyrian Language and Literature to be established in the university. The chair is to be a memorial of the late Mr. William M. Laffan, editor of the *New York Sun*. The first occupant of this chair is to be Professor A. T. Clay, now Professor of Semitic philology and archaeology in the University of Pennsylvania. There are now six universities in America where the full time of one or more professors is devoted to work in Assyrian and Babylonian, viz., Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Columbia, University of Pennsylvania, Yale, and Chicago.

THE effort of the American Bible Society to secure \$500,000 to meet the conditional pledge of Mrs. Russell Sage of \$500,000 has resulted in subscriptions aggregating over \$462,000. Mrs. Sage has consented to an extension of the time, in order that the remaining \$37,000 may be secured, and the full million be realized.

THE *Jewish Quarterly Review*, published in London under the editorship of I. Abrahams and C. G. Montefiore from 1888 to 1908, but discontinued for want of support, is to be continued under the auspices of the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, in Philadelphia. It will be edited by Cyrus Adler, president of the Dropsie College, and Solomon Schechter, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. The first number of the new series is to be issued early in 1910.

Book Reviews

"THE HISTORIC EXODUS"

A REPLY TO A REVIEW BY DR. D. D. LUCKENBILL

In the *Biblical World* for December, 1909, there appeared a review of my book, *The Historic Exodus*. The nature of the review was such that a reply is demanded. It is not the usual custom for a writer to respond to the reviews of his books, but in this case the reviewer has so attacked me that I think silence would be but a confession of weakness, and that a reply is demanded for self-protection. I wish to show both how grossly Dr. Luckenbill has misinterpreted my position, and how grievously he has gone wrong in stating what he considers to be the facts in regard to that position.

1. While discussing my statement of the modern higher critical position, the reviewer calls me to account for ascribing the origin of that hypothesis to Wellhausen, saying, "Any beginner in the study of Old Testament criticism should know that Wellhausen was not the originator of this hypothesis." Never in my book have I said that he was. What I did say was that to him belonged the "distinction of having pointed out that the Hexateuch is made up of *four great documents*." That does not imply that no one ever imagined such a thing as a four-great-document hypothesis before Wellhausen. It does state, what is eminently true, that he was the one to "point it out"—to bring it to the attention of scholars in such a way that it became a prevalent mode of thought. And this, it seems to me, is quite plain when we remember that the hypothesis is known as the "Wellhausen Hypothesis" the world over.

2. In one place in my book I stated that "the use of the word 'document' presupposes that we deal here with a complete document and not with mere fragments." The reviewer objects that by this sentence I attach a meaning to the word "document" which it has never had in criticism. It will doubtless prove interesting information that the word "document" in criticism means something other than when used in any other department of language. It is my impression that the documentary hypothesis succeeded the supplementary hypothesis, which in turn succeeded the fragmentary hypothesis, which in turn succeeded an older documentary hypothesis. Would the reviewer have us to believe that the documentary hypothesis is merely another name for the preceding fragmentary hypothesis?

One of the contentions in my book was that the latter of these is more nearly fitted to the facts than the former. If the two are one, then indeed on this point I do not differ from the extreme advocates of the documentary theory. But I doubt whether many of them would accept the reviewer's definition of their position.

3. The review then proceeds to charge me with the use of material of other scholars without giving them proper credit. It is alleged that I have borrowed most of chaps. ii and iii from Professor Eerdmans' work, *Die Komposition der Genesis*. Inasmuch as it is hardly possible to charge me with a more unscholarly and ungentlemanly act, I feel called upon to answer this rather fully. The reviewer states himself that in my preface (p. xi) I acknowledged that in these chapters I agreed in many details with Eerdmans. In another place in that preface (p. xi) I stated that I refrained from cumbering my pages with footnotes to the works of scholars from whom I got some of my ideas, and I gave the reason therefor. In doing this I was fully in accord with the example of many distinguished scholars. Singularly enough, Eerdmans, in the very work from which the reviewer says I took my ideas without giving proper credit, adopts this same method, although it is quite apparent that he didn't evolve all his ideas out of his inner consciousness, but was willing to depend somewhat upon the accomplished results of his brother scholars. Further than this, on the same page, I declared that in the appended bibliography I had given a list of works which I had freely used in writing the volume. And in this appended bibliography, among a good many other books, is the book of Eerdmans mentioned above. If the reviewer had wished, he could have found a good many other instances in which my ideas were the same as other men's, and where I did not give specific credit.

4. But the particular examples of this alleged fault of mine deserve some little attention. The reviewer believes that I derived my argument concerning the absence of the Persians from the list of nations in Genesis, chap. 10 (P document), from Professor Eerdmans' book. But long, long before Eerdmans many scholars had noted this difficulty and had tried in various ways to account for it, because they felt the necessity of believing that P was written in the Persian period. It is true that Professor Eerdmans, in writing on this subject (p. 9), cites no previous authorities for his argument; and the reviewer has doubtless supposed that it originated with him.

5. In regard to the argument from the mention of the Elamites among the children of Shem in Genesis, chap. 10, which the reviewer says I took in a similar manner from Eerdmans, it may be sufficient to state that my

argument therefrom and Eerdmans' argument therefrom are entirely different. The only identity is in the statement that the Jews of Ezra's time knew that the Elamites were not Semites, a statement of fact notoriously true, which would hardly be stated by two people in ways differing very radically from one another. Orr stated the same fact two years before Eerdmans (cf. *Problem of the Old Testament*, p. 401), and Driver and Hommel noticed it long before Orr.

6. But even supposing that the reviewer's comparisons were more conclusive, has he failed to notice that there are many arguments in Eerdmans which I cannot possibly be accused of adopting, and that there are many, many arguments in these chapters of mine, and in my other chapters on J, E, and D, which are not even suggestive of him? Even were it true that the six points of the identification were really established, is it quite fair to insinuate that as a result the whole of my consideration of higher critical dates is taken, practically *in toto*, from Eerdmans' work? This is a misrepresentation that is simply exasperating. As a matter of fact, the major portion of my argument for the statement that P is not post-exilic is based on three things; (a) the tracing of the institutions mentioned in P as far back as the time of Saul; (b) the evidence of the presence of P in early times; and (c) the evidence of the use of the "Law of Yahweh," the P law, in very early times. In these points I am, so far as I know, on grounds quite untouched hitherto by any writer on the subject, and it is on these points that my argument in the main rests. None of these important points has received the slightest attention at the reviewer's hands.

7. I am supposed by the reviewer to have derived my treatment of the Toledoth Book from Eerdmans' work, despite the fact that fully half the material assigned by me to the Toledoth Book is not so credited by Eerdmans, and the fact that he regards it merely as pre-exilic, while I declare it contemporaneous with the Exodus of JED. Eerdmans and I, it is true, both treat of a Toledoth Book. So does nearly every other scholar who writes on the subject.

This much time has been taken with this charge, not because of its intrinsic importance. It has none, in the eyes of those who have read both Eerdmans and myself. But probably most of the readers of the *Biblical World* have not read both works, and to them the charge may possibly have seemed to have been founded on facts.

8. Passing from the accusation in regard to my originality, I go on to the reviewer's remarks regarding my philology. I ventured in one place (in a footnote, entirely unconnected with the argument) to trace an interest-

ing connection in regard to El-Shaddai. I suggested that El-Shaddai was the same as the Egyptian god Sed or Set, the center of whose worship was Tanis and Avaris. For this identification the reviewer says quite confidently that there "is not a scrap of evidence." What he esteems evidence in such cases, I do not know. Apparently the fact that the names are philologically identical, the fact that they are both primarily phallic gods, the well-known fact that Sed or Set was identified with the Hyksos god Sutekh, which god the Hyksos brought with them from Syria, are of no importance whatever. This god, as I went on to state, has the totem of an ass. Since he is Syrian, what is more natural than that perhaps he is to be identified with Hadad, the god of the Amorites? I point out then that the Amorites probably took their ethnic name from this ass symbol, since the name "Amurru"¹ probably means ass, being connected with *Chamor*, meaning "he-ass." This the reviewer apparently does not understand, and seems to accuse me of a wonderful philological identification of Sed or Set = Saddai = El-Shaddai = Hadad of Amurru = Chamor.

9. The next philological point criticized is in regard to my statement that the Canaanite tongue mentioned in Isa. 19:18 was Galilean Aramaic. The reference in Isaiah is, of course, to the Hebrew worship established in his time in five cities of Egypt. The reviewer tersely asks, "Where is the evidence?" In reply I would say that it is usually safe to assume that some axiomatic facts are known among scholars. To those who have read on this subject it is well known: (a) that inscriptions found at Zinjirli, in northern Syria, dating from the middle of the eighth century, show that the Aramaic peoples were well established in *northern* Palestine at this time; (b) that the Zakar inscription, dealing with Galilean matters, is written in an Aramaic dialect; (c) that in the time of Sheshonk I (*ca.* 935) a place was conquered, whose name, as W. Max Müller has pointed out, is undoubtedly Aramaic, called "The Field of Abram," and that this place was in *southern* Palestine, in Judaea. Aramaic, then, was by no means impossible *throughout* Palestine in the time of Isaiah. Further, it is well known (d) that all the inscriptions so far discovered of the Jews that dwelt in Egypt in early times are not in Hebrew, but in Aramaic, very like that of the Galilean inscription of Zakar, mentioned above. The time is now past when any scholar can interpret the word "Canaanite" in Isa. 19:18 as meaning "Hebrew," or anything else than Aramaic. Now we know that the great reason for extensive migration of Jews into Egypt previous to Isaiah was the conquest of Naphtali and Zebulun, Galilean tribes, in 738

¹ I take "Amurru" to be the Canaanitic equivalent of Assyrian *Imêru*, "ass," which was an integral part of the old name of Damascus, the capital of the Amorites.

B. C. And this, in connection with the fact that the Aramaic of the Egyptian inscriptions is quite different from that which we know was later spoken in Judaea, I think is quite sufficient justification for terming the tongue in question "*Galilean Aramaic*."

10. In another part of the book the reviewer found a reference to a Galilean dialect, in which I stated that the Song of Deborah, the Song of Songs, and the Book of Jonah were written. He jumped to the conclusion, entirely unwarranted by anything in the book, that this Galilean dialect was "*Galilean Aramaic*" too. And this in spite of the explicit statement, given in the very next sentence of my book, that this dialect did not contain Aramaisms at all. Indeed, the reviewer quotes this denial, and then accuses me of inconsistency. Is it utterly impossible to believe that there was in the time of Isaiah a dialect of Aramaic spoken in certain Galilean tribes, and that there was also, at all times a Galilean dialect of *Hebrew* spoken in the same land? The reviewer has utterly failed to grasp the fact that the Hebrew tribes were not at this time one united nation, unified in language, but a conglomerate of more or less unrelated tribes, with a multitude of warring interests and differing speech.

11. The reviewer then proceeds to make fun of my general treatment of the Hebrew dialects, and seems to doubt the possibility of there having been such things. I said that *bosheth* in Benjamin is the same as *baal* in Jerusalem. This identification, being foreign to the usual critical idea on the subject, seems foolish to the reviewer. As it happens, I am not alone on this. After my book was written, as I was reading final proof, I received Böhl's *Sprache der Amarnabriefe*, published in "*Leipziger Semitistische Studien*." On p. 5 this author also says that the difference between the words is due to dialectic peculiarity, not to a difference of meaning. So far as the reviewer knew, I differed from other scholars. Ergo, I was wrong.

12. Then he says, after his statement of my position in regard to *bosheth* and *baal*, "This thought is developed until on p. 138 we have P written in the dialect of Levi, E and D in the dialect of Ephraim, and J in the dialect of Judah. Where is the evidence of all this?" Now, if this means anything, it means that I based my assigning of the documents to tribal dialects entirely on the difference between *bosheth* and *baal*. Of course, I did nothing of the kind. As for the demand for evidence, on pp. 139, 140, some rather significant philological evidence *was* given. The recognition of Hebrew dialectic peculiarities is no new thing among those who keep abreast of the times, and are not satisfied with blind loyalty to hypotheses as yet unproved. Dr. Driver, for instance (*Introduction to the Literature*

of the *Old Testament*, 12th ed., p. 449), has pointed out that in the post-exilic and late writings these dialectic peculiarities are present, and that there is evidence of them even in the early Song of Deborah. I have simply carried the investigation into the documents of the Hexateuch. The reviewer rightly catches the point of the contention that *if the peculiarities of the documents are due to dialectic and not developmental causes, there is no criterion in their language for dating them.* This was new. The reviewer has not found it in his critical authorities heretofore. Consequently it must be discredited, even at the cost of unfairly stating what the position really is.

13. The reviewer thinks he has caught me in an inconsistency when I say, in one place, that the peculiarities of language in the various documents were due to dialectic differences and not chronological development, while I stated in another place that the Toledoth Book could be distinguished from P proper because its language was earlier. He has evidently failed to understand me. I based my separation of the Hebrew literature into dialects on the basis of differences of *vocabulary and phrases*. But within each dialect, thus distinguished, I found various stages of progress, and disintegration, not in the vocabulary, but in *grammar and syntax*. There is no reason, on this method of division, why P, J, E, and D should not be of different dialects, while in each there is a series of progressions, grammatic and syntactic. I should think that this would be quite plain to one who had read my book carefully, especially the chapter called "The Language of P."

14. Then the reviewer proceeds still further in his attempt to discredit my philology. He seems to doubt, for instance, my statement that "Tharu" is the exact equivalent of "Shur." As he states it, I am made to say that "Tharu is the exact *Hebrew* equivalent of Shur." This is nonsense, of course. "Tharu" isn't the Hebrew equivalent of anything. It is *Egyptian*. What I really did say was that the *Egyptian* "Tharu" is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew "Shur." If the reviewer doubts this identification, let him read W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 102, or Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, where Professor Müller's argument is cited in the article on "Shur."

15. The reviewer doubts also that "Khetem" equals "Etham." In a footnote on the very page where this statement is made, I have given as my authority for it Brugsch, *Dict. Geog.*, p. 647. I am inclined to admire the reviewer for airily disagreeing with Heinrich Brugsch.

16. He finds what he calls his "choicest specimen" of my philology in my remarks about the city *Tu-mur-(ka)*, p. 264. I claimed that *tumur*

is the Arabic plural of *tamar*, meaning palm tree; and I therefore felt inclined to identify the city with the biblical Jericho, also known as "The city of palm trees." Now the inscription wherein this *Tu-mur-(ka)* is found dates from about the year 1400 B.C. The reviewer declares my identification impossible, because I thus imply that there was in use "an Arabic plural of palm tree at least a thousand years before the Arabs could possibly have pushed into Canaan!" Does he really believe that the Arabs did not come into Canaan until about 400 B. C.? Does he know nothing of the investigations of Dr. Glaser, not to speak of Hommel, Müller of Vienna, Halévey, Sayce, Nielsen, and others? There have been brought to light over one thousand inscriptions, written in old Arabic, from South-Arabia, known as the Minean and Sabean inscriptions, many of them dating from the second millennium B. C. The Sabean kingdom was at its height about 950 B. C., as we know because its queen visited Solomon. It must have been old at this time. And it had displaced the older Minean power. The latter, called Maon in the Bible, *had colonies in Palestine*, as we know from the Bible and the inscriptions, long before 1400 B. C., one east of the Jordan, the other just south of Judaea, both in the older territory of Benjamin. And yet, in the face of facts as well known among scholars as these are, we are told that Arabic plurals in the Amarna letters are impossible, or anywhere in Palestine before 400 B. C.!

17. My treatment of *Cus-Arsathaim* (Hebrew text *Cushan-Rishathaim*) is next taken up. I stated that Artatama, according to the Boghaz-köi inscriptions, came from *Ku-us-(sar)*. I then ventured to identify the two men and to say that *Cus* is probably a place-name and identical with *Ku-us-(sar)*. The reviewer ridicules this idea, asking if I can drop an *r* (*sar*) at will. Not at all. But has he thought of the possibility of the *r* in this case not being a portion of the word stem at all? May it not have been a case-ending? In our present knowledge of Hittite, from which land the inscription was written, and by which it was undoubtedly influenced, it is sheer presumption to assume that the *r* is necessarily an integral part of the stem.

18. Having attempted to establish the fact that I am no philologist, the reviewer seeks to discredit my historical and geographical ability. "As to the treatment of the historical data," he says, "it is safe to say that there is no scholar of any standing in the scientific world who could possibly agree with the distorted and positively misleading interpretation of the Egyptian and Babylonian monuments which is here presented." I have in my possession private letters from a number of the leading scholars of Europe on Assyriology, Egyptology, and the Bible, written since my book appeared, complimenting me particularly on this very point, my

interpretation of the Egyptian and Babylonian monuments. Even critics who have felt inclined not to accept my theory *in toto* have agreed that my interpretations are scientific and plausible.

19. Then follows an equally sweeping denunciation of my geographical ability. The reviewer gives but one example of my ignorance in this line, saying that I reach "the height of the ridiculous" when I state on p. 176 that "the Wilderness of Sin and the Wilderness of Sinai are the oases of the Arabah, between the Seir ranges," etc. By italicising the word "oases" and putting an exclamation point after the same, he makes it plain that what he considers ridiculous about this statement is that I call a "wilderness" an "oasis." An oasis, according to Webster's *Dictionary*, is "a fertile or green spot in a waste or desert." The word in Hebrew which is translated "wilderness" is *midbar*, which, according to Brown, Driver, and Briggs's Hebrew Lexicon, in its first or common meaning signifies "tracts of land used for the pasturage of flocks and herds." And if the reviewer thinks there are no such "oases" or "wildernesses" in the Arabah, between the Seir ranges, etc., I would respectfully refer him to Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 161, where that distinguished and accurate traveler defines the vicinity of Petra as "an oasis of vegetation in the desert hills."

20. I now come to a consideration of the reviewer's conclusions. "The whole method of the book is totally unreliable," he says. An examination of the internal evidence in the documents themselves, and a reconstruction of Hebrew history according to the requirements of the evidence—that is the method. If that is totally unreliable, so is all the critical study of the past generation. Having made this categorical announcement, the reviewer, backing it up, gives what purports to be a short synopsis of the book, which differs utterly from what is to be found in it. The first part of the book is, as he says, devoted to a reconsideration of the dates of the documents, and the result of this is, as he also states, that I conclude that they were not late, but early. The latter portion of the book is devoted to my reconstruction of Hebrew history of the Exodus period, which results in the belief that there were two exodi, some hundreds of years apart, the accounts of which in latter centuries become fused. Thus far the reviewer is fairly on the track of my position. But then he says, "The proof presented"—for this double-exodus theory, of course—"consists largely of linguistic arguments which we have already discussed." This is contrary to fact. Out of 339 pages in the book, only 10 pages, and a few notes, are devoted to linguistic arguments. The double-exodus theory, as a matter of fact, is based upon the tremendous differences to be found existing between P on the one hand and JED on the other, as to the settlements in Egypt,

the routes of the exodus, the length of the wandering, the mountains Horeb and Sinai, the sets of tables and the arks, the legislations of Horeb and Sinai, and the priesthoods. In other words, the theory is the result of examination of the documents, each one entirely by itself, and a comparison of the internal evidence deduced from each of them. None of this, which constitutes fully half the book, is so much as hinted at in the review. The reviewer has picked out minor points here and there, philological and otherwise, often from the notes, has sought to controvert them, and has then claimed that he has discredited the whole book! The argument as a whole, the significance of the new way of looking at the Exodus—the point of the whole book—has been utterly ignored.

21. In his last paragraph, the reviewer quotes my statement (p. 279), that the Hexateuchal documents are historically accurate *except where redactors at later times have made changes*. He says that the exception nullifies all the contentions which I have advanced. It is simply a fact that I state. Everyone knows that there are certain passages in the Old Testament which have received redactorial glosses. And yet my theory is completely vitiated by the admission. If mine is, so is that of every modern scholar on this subject. I know of none who denies that later copyists have in places annotated.

22. I now come to the last sentence in the review: "There is no immediate danger that the hypothesis here presented will necessitate 'a total reconstruction of the Evolutionary Hypothesis of modern higher criticism (p. xii)'." I did not say this. What I did say was that "the *acceptance* of my hypothesis would necessitate such a reconstruction." But I waive this point. My hypothesis is that the documents, by their own integral evidence, are early, not late; that P agrees with the history of one period, and JED with that of another entirely different; and that therefore there is no reason to suppose the documents unhistorical, and every reason to suppose them accurate, when assigned to their proper historical backgrounds. Such a theory, backed up by facts and arguments, most of which the reviewer does not notice, and none of which he disproves, may indeed, *unless it be answered*, render a reconstruction necessary.

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A REJOINDER

1, 2. The reviewer stated that critical scholars recognized no such definition of the word "document" as Professor Toffteen gives it. At the

very beginning of the discussion of the E document by Procksch, *Die Elohimquelle*, p. 7, note 1, we read, "The beginning of our book [the E document] is lost." Other lacunae in this document are noted by Procksch on p. 25, the birth of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah; p. 61, the beginning of the story of the oppression in Egypt; and others. The distinction of Wellhausen does not lie in having "pointed out" the fact that the Hexateuch was composed of "four great documents," but in the fact that it was due to his *Prolegomena*, and other works, that the documents were arranged in the chronological order J, E, D, and P rather than in the order P, E, J, D, or E, P, J, D, of the older school of Schrader, Dillmann, Delitzsch, and others. The suggestion that P came after D was already made by Spinoza, but it was not until the *Prolegomena* of Wellhausen appeared that this became the *dominant* view, although Vatke and George (1835) had already strongly advocated this position.

4. Why does not Professor Toffteen give us some of the names of the "many scholars" who "long, long before Eerdmans" had noted the difficulty of the absence of a reference to the Persians in Gen., chap. 10, "and had tried in various ways to account for it," etc.?

5. Of course, scholars have recognized that the Elamites were not Semites. It was Professor Toffteen's use of the fact that a Jew of Ezra's time would have known this, as an argument against making P post-exilic, that was compared with Eerdmans's use of the same argument.

6. The reviewer is accused of ignoring the author's major argument. This was done because the arguments presented were, in the opinion of the reviewer, entitled to no serious recognition. It might be well, however, since the author objects to having it ignored, to look at a few points in this "major argument." On p. 40, *i*) we read, "The dying David prays for his son, Solomon, saying [here follows I Chron. 22:12]." While this reference "may not be pressed as a certain reference to the P code, this seems the most likely explanation." The reason for this lies in the fact that David refers to the "Law of Yahweh," which according to the author is the "technical term for the P code and document," p. 42. (It may be added parenthetically that the reviewer feels confident that Professor Toffteen's "technical terms" will receive little serious consideration at the hands of scholars.) It will be well to refer to p. 80, *d*) to see how consistently Professor Toffteen's arguments have been thought out. Here "the dying David charged his son, Solomon, saying, [here follows I Kings 2:2b, 3]." The tone of this passage is "decidedly Deuteronomic," and since David referred to the "Law of Moses," he "knew of a written Law of Moses, and when he spoke of it used definitely Deuteronomic language." According

to pp. 81-82, when the Law of Moses is referred to "there is implied that the law which we call the D code is meant." Comment on these two passages is unnecessary.

8. (a) The names El-Shaddai and Set are not philologically identical. For should we admit that the first two radicals were identical, there still would remain a final *yodh* in the Hebrew word which cannot be ignored; and the Greek form of Egyptian proper names derived from Set makes it evident that there was a final *s* in the Egyptian form of the name (Σεθ-ωσις). This of course shows the connection between the form Set and the earlier form Sutekh, as is now generally recognized. That Set "should probably be pronounced Saddai" does not seem to be borne out by the Greek forms of the name. Has Professor Toffteen any evidence for this? (b) Professor Toffteen asserts that both these gods were phallic gods. It would be well when making such assertions to produce the evidence. (c) The statement that it is a well-known fact that "Sed or Set was identified with the Hyksos god Sutekh," is not accurate. Professor Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 222, says, "Sutekh is of course the Egyptianized form of some Syrian Baal; Sutekh being an older form of the well-known Egyptian Set." See also Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, p. 76. That there is no reason for identifying this god especially with Hadad of Amurru is seen from the fact that the *Hittite* gods are usually referred to in the Egyptian monuments as Sutekh of such and such a city. See Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, §§ 386 f. The statement that this god has "the totem of an ass" also needs modification. "The animal which is used to represent the god Set, or whose head he bears [in case the body of the god is represented in human form] was regarded in later times as the ass, although it was nothing more than a caricature of one. Probably back of the representation is hidden the figure of some animal which was no longer known to the Egyptians of historical times." So Erman, *op. cit.* pp. 22 f. That the animal underlying the representations of Set was probably the *okapi* was shown by Wiedemann in *die Umschau*, December, 1902, pp. 1002 f. That Sutekh or Set was of Syrian origin and "was introduced into the Egyptian pantheon" from there, needs proof. It will be noticed that the reviewer is misquoted in the last sentence of paragraph 8.

9. With reference to the Galilean Aramaic referred to in Isa. 19:18: Modern critics consider the passage Isa. 19:16-25 a later addition. So Marti and Duhm. Professor Toffteen evidently considers the passage as coming from Isaiah. But according to this interpretation the passage should be regarded as a prophecy referring to a *future* establishment of "Hebrew worship" in five cities of Egypt, and not in the time of Isaiah

(ca. 700 B. C.). The "axiomatic facts" that scholars are assumed to know have no more to do with proving that the Canaanite tongue of Isa. 19:18 was Galilean Aramaic than has the fact that two and two are four. (a) That Aramaic people were established in Syria as early as the middle of the eighth century no one denies. (b) If the "Galilean inscription of Zakar" referred to is the "Inscription araméenne de Zakir," published in H. Pognon's *Inscriptions sémitiques*, No. 86, pp. 156 f., the reviewer would ask Professor Toffteen for the evidence which would allow the inscription to be referred to as "Galilean." (c) That the name "Field of Abram" is not necessarily "undoubtedly Aramaic as W. Max Müller has pointed out" will be seen by referring to the discussion in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, p. 352, note f., where it is pointed out that the word "field" which Müller argues must be Aramaic, occurs in the plural form in this same list, but as a *Hebrew* plural and not as an *Aramaic* plural. (d) If Professor Toffteen had given us the approximate dates of "all the inscriptions so far discovered," etc., we should probably see the reason why the language of these Aramaic inscriptions differs from the Aramaic spoken *later* in Judaea. See Torrey, *AJSL*, XXIV, pp. 232 f. In a word, in spite of the references quoted, Professor Toffteen has come no nearer than before to proving that the Canaanite tongue of Isa. 19:18 is Galilean Aramaic.

11. The reviewer doubts whether Böhl would agree to Professor Toffteen's statement of his views. What Böhl does say is that there are two ways of explaining the word *bashtu*, the Amarna equivalent, as he holds it to be, of the form *bosheth* found in Old Testament proper names. In one case it would be derived from the root בלַת = "overflow," in the other, from בוֹשַׁת = "be ashamed." Böhl prefers the latter derivation. He does not say anything about "dialectic peculiarity."

16. The references to Glaser, etc., are not to the point. Of course the reviewer did not mean to say that the Arabs did not come in contact with Canaan before 400 B. C., but he did mean to imply that it was extremely improbable that a *Canaanite* city, such as Jericho was, should have an Arabic name in the Amarna period. The point made by the reviewer that there is no reason for reading a city name Tu-mur-ka, in Kn, 292, l. 28, as Knudtzon has shown, is ignored. It will be seen that the last syllable *ka* has been bracketed, as is the *r* in Cusa(r). Is *ka* also a case-ending? Just how a colony "east of the Jordan," and another "just south of Judaea" were "both in the older territory of Benjamin," is not clear to the reviewer.

17. Artatama may have come from Ku-us-sar, but the Boghaz-köi

documents do not say that he did. They do mention Hattusil of the city of Ku-us-sar. The reviewer believes we do know enough about case-endings, or their equivalents, in the Mitanni language, a tongue closely related to Hittite, as well as about Hittite case-endings, to feel safe in saying that the *r* is not such a case-ending. See Bork, *Die Mitannisprache*, pp. 45 f., and Winckler, *MDOG* 35, p. 19. It may be well to add a few words on another utterly impossible identification of Professor Toffteen's. On p. 258, we have the name Shipti-Addi explained as meaning "Judge" Addi, the first part of the name being interpreted as a title. Now anyone who can read an Assyrian proper name correctly knows that such a writing of a name is unheard of. (a) The determinative, found written before proper names, appears in this name, *Shipti-Addi*, in its regular place before *Shipti*. (b) Ranke and Tallqvist in books on proper names, as well as Clay and others in the "Publications of the University of Pennsylvania," have listed thousands upon thousands of proper names and yet we never find a man's name written as a god's name, as would be the case if the name were read Addi (that is *ilu IM*), as Toffteen reads it. (c) That Shipti=Hebrew Shopheṭ may be true: but when we bear in mind that Shopheṭ is a participial form corresponding to the Assyrian participial form *kāshidu*, this identification becomes doubtful. Further, we have the title judge, Shopheṭ, actually written in a letter from Hana, a Mesopotamian city, published by Thureau-Dangin, *Journal asiatique*, (Juillet-Août, 1909) pp. 149 f., but, as we should expect, *after* the man's name; and the form is *Sha-bi-tu*, p. 151, l. 33, for *shāpīṭu*. See also the note on this line on p. 154. Professor Toffteen's remarks on Shamgar (p. 302, note), show similar lack of acquaintance with the writing of Semitic proper names in cuneiform.

18. The reviewer regrets very much that he is compelled to take up a discussion of the "private letters from a number of leading scholars of Europe on Assyriology, Egyptology, and the Bible, etc." On p. x of *The Historic Exodus*, we have a list of scholars who have written letters to Professor Toffteen "in regard to his former book." Does this perhaps mean that they thanked him politely for the copies of his book he was kind enough to send them? On the same page we are also told that the author "was first in the field," for example, in assigning a date *ca.* 2500 to Sargon of Akkad, and in fixing the date of the Hammurabi Dynasty. In *Sumerier und Semiten*, a paper read and published before Professor Toffteen's *Ancient Chronology* appeared, p. 10, note 1, we have Meyer's discussion of the date of Sargon. There he places it provisionally as *ca.* 2800-2750 B. C., but adds, "if, however, as Ranke has pointed out, the

kings of the Second Dynasty were at least partly contemporaneous with those of the First, this date must be brought down some centuries later." Now Professor Toffteen claims that he was the first to reach the conclusion that "the Second Dynasty was partly contemporary" with the First Dynasty as well as with the Cassite Dynasty. This synchronism was discovered by King on tablets found in the British Museum, and published in *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*; see especially pp. 136, 137 of Vol. I. The statement is made in *Ancient Chronology* (p. xi) to the effect that King's discoveries only confirmed conclusions Professor Toffteen had already reached; but at any rate, Professor Toffteen was not the first to suggest the synchronism. Eduard Meyer and the other Assyriologists based their dates on King's discoveries. If *Ancient Chronology* is a scientific treatment of the subject discussed, how is it that we do not have more references to it in the discussions which are going on all the time in the scientific journals with reference to the chronology of the early period of Babylonian history? Schnabel brought out his *Studien zur babylonisch-assyrischen Chronologie* since Professor Toffteen's book appeared, but we have no reference to Professor Toffteen's work, not even in the "Literatur," pp. 38 and 88, 89. So Ungnad, Thureau-Dangin, Poebel, and others have discussed the chronology of the Hammurabi Dynasty, but they do not refer to Professor Toffteen's book. On p. 304, a) we read of Meyer's and Breasted's change of view with reference to the Eleventh Dynasty. On p. 438 of Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, we see the reason for this change of view—namely, a new stela from the Cairo museum, discussed by Maspero, *Rev. critique*, November, 1905 and Sethe, *ZA*, 1905, p. 131 f., both discussions having appeared before Professor Toffteen's *Ancient Chronology*. It will be seen on p. 232 of *Ancient Chronology*, that Professor Toffteen's conclusion is apparently based on Sethe's discussion in *ZA*. It will also be noticed that Meyer and Breasted have nowhere indicated any knowledge of Professor Toffteen's "contributions" toward a reconstruction of the dynasty. It is on the basis of new documents that such changes of view are made. It might be interesting to know why there is no reference to *Ancient Chronology* under the heading "Chronology," in the Bibliography of Breasted's *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 452, or in the recent German translation of his larger *History of Egypt*. It would also be interesting to know the names of some of the "critics who have felt inclined not to accept" the author's "theory *in toto*" but who "have agreed that" his "interpretations are scientific and plausible."

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Biblical Ideas of Atonement, Their History and Significance.—

By ERNEST DEWITT BURTON, JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH, and GERALD BIRNEY SMITH. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. viii+335. \$1.00.

This book by three devout scholars of the divinity faculty of the University of Chicago, each a specialist in his department, cannot be too highly commended. For centuries the dogmatic interest has dominated the study of the Bible, and men have gone to the book, not to discover what its writers actually taught, but to find support for their own theories. It is accordingly believed by many that the theory of the atonement which they have inherited from Anselm or Calvin or Grotius is the one theory taught throughout the Bible. These theories were constructed when conceptions of the world prevailed which are now outgrown, and although each of them is different from any conception of atonement that is set forth in the Bible, each of them helped in its day to make the atonement real to men. Within fifty years, however, a new world-view has come to prevail among the great majority of thinking men. This new world-view has made these old explanations of the atonement seem artificial, and the atonement itself to be unreal. Ministers have in many places ceased to make it a prominent part of their preaching, and laymen seek in vain to find in the doctrine a vital interest.

The authors of this little book seek to meet this situation in the only way it can be met. They set forth clearly and simply, though with adequate scholarship, what the conceptions of atonement were which prevailed in the different periods of biblical history; they distinguish in a sane and reverent way between what is permanent and what is transitory in these conceptions; they point out the relation between these permanent elements and the vital problems of modern life, and they point the way to a realization of the heinousness of sin and the vital reality of atonement under the world-view which prevails today.

The work naturally falls into three parts, the Old Testament portion, the New Testament portion, and the theological portion. The Old Testament conceptions of atonement are treated by John Merlin Powis Smith in three chapters which treat respectively of "Atonement in Pre-prophetic Israel," "Atonement in the Prophets and Deuteronomy," and "Atonement in the Later Priestly Literature." Professor Burton has contributed to the book seven chapters which treat of the following subjects: "Atonement in Non-canonical Jewish Literature," "Atonement in the Teaching of John the Baptist," "Atonement in the Teaching of Jesus," "Atonement as conceived by the Early Church," "Atonement in the Teaching of Paul,"

"The Teaching of the First Epistle of Peter and the Epistle to the Hebrews," and "Atonement in the Writings Ascribed to John." A chapter follows written in part by Professor J. M. P. Smith and in part by Professor Burton which gives a summary of all the biblical teachings.

It is impossible within the compass of a brief review to give any adequate impression of the richness and value of these chapters, brief as they necessarily are. The authors have sought to present exactly what the biblical writers teach. In cases where it is possible from the language employed by a biblical writer to understand his thought in more than one way, this is frankly stated, and then by the skill of the trained exegete the reader is with impartial fairness guided to the interpretation that is probably right. In the interpretation of some passages there is room for difference of opinion. The present reviewer would sometimes hold that a view rejected in this book is more probable than the one adopted in its place, but these matters are treated by the authors with such fairness and candor, and it is so evident that the writers' sole aim has been to gain the exact truth, that the reading of their interpretations should be a means of grace to those who are anxious to find the truth, and should also be a help toward living in the spirit in which alone truth can be discovered.

The book concludes with two chapters by Professor Gerald Birney Smith on : "The Significance of the Biblical Teachings Concerning Atonement," and "Atonement in the Light of Modern Thought." These chapters, especially the last one, are able, timely, and helpful.

The most significant portions of the book are the chapters which deal with Jesus' conception of atonement and St. Pauls' conception of it, together with the final chapter which seeks to correlate the doctrine with present-day thought. It is made clear by the interpretation of the teaching of Jesus and of Paul that atonement only becomes real as one shares in Christ's life and suffering and work; while in the final chapter Professor G. B. Smith shows how present-day sins, in which because of their social character we all share, inflict suffering and wrong on God's creatures and on God himself; how the sufferings of Christ in resisting sin reveal to us the suffering of God for its conquest; and how they also invite us to find reconciliation by entering into the work of God and of Christ for the conquest of the sins of modern life and the establishment of the kingdom of God.

To the thoughtful reader the book thus makes it appear, though the authors do not formally point this out, that the experience and practice of the gospel as Jesus and Paul conceived it is the one way of revitalizing it in our modern life and redeeming our modern world. This is so because

Christ and Paul insist on an experience that is vital and possible under all forms of thought.

Every minister of the gospel and every thoughtful layman ought to possess this volume and make its contents their own.

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR, PA.

Genesis. By H. G. MITCHELL. [Bible for Home and School.]
New York: Macmillan, 1909. 379 pages. \$0.90.

The book of Genesis—the book of beginnings—is always fascinating and deserves the best scholarship that can be secured for its treatment. Professor Mitchell is an up-to-date student of this book and has brought to his task as commentator a ripe knowledge and a sane method. The policy of this series of commentaries excludes from its notes all processes both critical and exegetical, and gives, on the basis of the assured results of criticism, such explanations and notes as are adapted to the rapid reader. The brief, clear introduction gives an analysis of the five chief documents of Genesis; a clear and sufficiently detailed analysis of the book as a whole; and adds a bibliography of useful material for further study of the historical, topographical, and interpretative study of Genesis. The practical arrangement of the matter on the page of the commentary is especially helpful. At the top we find the translation of the Revised Version of 1885. Before each word or phrase on which comments are given, on the lower half of the page, there stands a hollow circle. And after each word or phrase on which one of the versions supply something helpful, we find a figure, referring to such helps inserted between the translation and the commentary. The outer margin, too, of the translation presents the literary analysis given in the introduction. The volume is well adapted for the class of readers for which it has been prepared.

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New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

JEREMIAS, ALFRED. *Das Alter der Babylonischen Astronomie*. Zweite erweiterte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. 92. M. 1.60.

This pamphlet deals with one of the important questions of the Pan-Babylonian controversy, viz. Did the old Babylonians possess a genuine astronomical science, as distinguished from mere general observations of the heavens, and from astrology? Upon the answer to this question the fate of Pan-Babylonianism depends. Jeremias, in this second edition of his treatise, seeks to nullify the considerations urged against the high age of astronomy in Babylon by F. Kugler in a recent volume.

ARTICLES

LUNDGREEN, FR. "Das Jerusalem des Wilhelm von Tyrus und die Gegenwart," *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, December, 1909, pp. 973-92.

This is a study of the information contributed about Jerusalem's history, geography, and archaeology by William, archbishop of Tyre from 1175 A. D. till his death.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

GREGORY, CASPAR RENÉ. *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Dritter Band. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. 995-1486. M. 12.

The concluding portion of Professor Gregory's great work on *New Testament Textual Criticism* (Bd. I, 1900; Bd. II, 1902) after a brief discussion of the classes of text (original, rewrought, polished, and official) presents a supplement of 350 pages, relating to the materials of Vols. I and II. This includes Professor Gregory's new system of manuscript designations (1908), and a vast quantity of detailed information as to cursives, Latin texts, Fathers, etc. The whole is conveniently arranged and elaborately indexed. This work constitutes the standard treatise on textual criticism.

VON DOBSCHÜTZ, ERNST. *Die Thessalonicher-Briefe*, Völlig neu bearbeitet. (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, begründet von H. A. W. Meyer.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909. Pp. x+320. Paper, M. 6.40.

This new commentary is an important addition to New Testament exegetical literature. Professor von Dobschütz is disposed to accept the authenticity of both epistles, and recognizes I Thess. as the earliest of Paul's extant letters (A. D. 52). The introduction is independent, compact, and valuable, and the comment full and incisive. The use of German type is a distinct detriment to this volume.

BACON, B. W. *The Founding of the Church*. [Modern Religious Problems.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1909. Pp. 90. \$0.50.

A bold and rapid handling of four problems: When Was the Church Founded? Peter the Foundation Rock; The Confession of Jesus as Lord; Baptism and the Breaking of Bread. Professor Bacon writes with great vigor and freedom, and all his usual suggestiveness.

GRANBERY, JOHN C. Outline of New Testament Christology. A Study of Genetic Relationships within the Christology of the New Testament Period. [Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament; Second Series, II, Part I.] Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. 127. Paper, \$0.50.

Dr. Granbery has made a positive contribution to biblical theology, in this able and interesting study of the rise, development, and relationship of Christological views, down to the middle of the second century.

STALKER, JAMES. The Ethic of Jesus, According to the Synoptic Gospels. New York: Armstrong, 1909. Pp. x+403. \$1 75.

Books from the pen of Dr. Stalker are always sure of a welcome, and the present volume is a substantial one. It is to be followed by a book on *The Mind of Jesus as Reported by St. John*, and will be fully reviewed later.

RELATED SUBJECTS

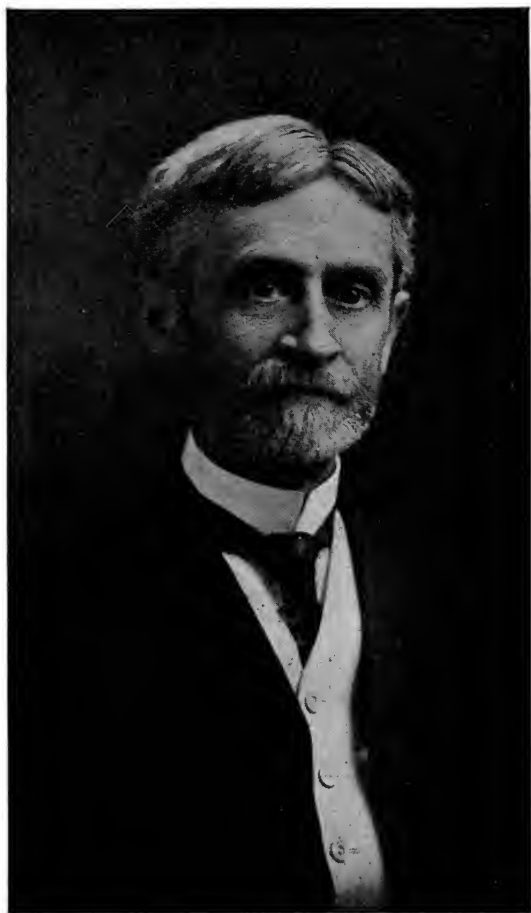
BOOKS

HEMMER, HIPPOLYTE. Les pères apostoliques: II, Clément de Rome, Épître aux Corinthiens, Homélie du II^e siècle. Texte grec, traduction française, introduction et index. [Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme.] Paris: Picard, 1909. Pp. lxxiv+205. Fr. 3.

A convenient and intelligent edition of I and II Clement, with a full introduction and a French translation.

YUNG WING. My Life in China and America. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909. Pp. vi+286.

This is an unusually interesting autobiography of the associate Chinese minister at Washington, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1854. As one of the most influential of the makers of new China, the story of his life furnishes a splendid testimonial to the value of Christian missions, which have made such a life possible.



THE LATE PROFESSOR WILLIAM ARNOLD STEVENS, D.D., LL.D.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXV

MARCH, 1910

NUMBER 3

Editorial

JESUS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT LAW

In an article published in a recent issue of the *Sunday School Times* Professor Harnack of Berlin defends the thesis that Jesus had no intention of doing away with the law of the Old Testament, but that unconsciously to himself he assumed toward it such an attitude as logically involved its abolition. Comparing the position of Jesus to that of Luther, who while still regarding himself a loyal son of the church had really broken with the church and was engaged in an effort to destroy it, Professor Harnack affirms that "*objectively* the attitude of Jesus toward the law involves a contradiction, but *subjectively*, that is for himself, he was not conscious of it." The early church, Harnack goes on to maintain, endeavored to walk in the footsteps of Jesus in this matter, but found the position impossible. It was Paul who first discovered that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone that believeth, a position in which the Fourth Gospel follows the apostle to the Gentiles. In other words, the position of Jesus may be compared to that of one who is seeking to strengthen an old building by supporting buttresses but is in fact unconsciously to himself undermining its foundation and preparing it for its downfall.

Such an interpretation of Jesus is of course entirely intelligible. Many a teacher and thinker has failed to see the full implications of the positions to which his own thinking has led him. It is proverbial that the followers of a progressive thinker usually outrun their teacher. An important forward step is rarely accomplished wholly in one generation. To the example of Luther cited by Harnack

scores of others might be added. Many men have builded better or worse than they knew or intended.

There is moreover unquestionably a certain element of truth in Harnack's view respecting Jesus. He was not an iconoclast. He did not expect or intend to inaugurate an anti-legal movement within the Jewish community, or at once to create a community of independent ethical thinkers. He recognized the necessity of leadership and the fact that time is an important factor in all healthy transformations of thought. Much of his most far-reaching teaching concerning law was conveyed incidentally and without effort on his part to point out the full implications. It is true also that if Jesus assumed an attitude of freedom in respect to the law, the early church did not at once apprehend this, or follow him in this attitude.

It is to be observed also that the position which Professor Harnack takes issues in the same result for Christian practice today as the view which finds in Jêsus himself the conscious repudiation of the authority of the Old Testament law. For while maintaining that Jesus intended to defend the law Harnack is equally clear in maintaining that Paul's explicit application of the Law was the necessary consequence of the attitude which Jesus, without fully apprehending its significance, assumed toward the Law. "The bud which Jesus placed in the Old Jewish stalk could result only in the decay of Judaism and the founding of a new religion, the religion of Jesus Christ. . . . Not in his preaching did Jesus teach this, but in his person, his work, his sufferings, in his resurrection, did his disciples learn it." The question at issue is not then one of ethics, but of history, and its implications are not ethical, but christological; not what should be the Christian's attitude toward the law, but what was Christ's attitude, and how are we to rank him in respect to ethical insight.

It must of course be dealt with on purely critical and exegetical grounds. For our conclusions not only respecting the substance of Jesus' teaching but as concerns the precise intellectual quality of Jesus as a teacher we are dependent solely on the records of the New Testament. A discerning literary criticism and a faithful exegesis are the instruments by which we must derive from these records our information as to what Jesus did and how he did it.

The passage which Harnack expressly cites in defense of his view is Matt. 5:17, 18, "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished." He adds that there are many more passages and testimonies, and refers by implication to the command of Jesus to the leper to show himself to the priest, his assertion in Matt. 23:3 that whatever the Pharisees commanded should be observed, and the setting-aside of the Mosaic law of divorce grounded, he says, on an older law.

It is not our present purpose to examine these passages in detail, or to criticize Harnack's exegesis of them. It is our desire chiefly on the one hand to call attention to the significance of the issue which Harnack's paper raises, and on the other hand to express our conviction that his interpretation of Jesus' attitude is critically and exegetically indefensible. It ascribes to Jesus a lower intellectual power and less keen insight into moral questions, and a less clear apprehension of the significance of his own teaching than the New Testament warrants us in ascribing to him. We have grown somewhat familiar in recent years with the view that in the field of eschatology Jesus adopted the current messianic ideas of the Pharisees and allowed himself to cherish expectations respecting the coming of the kingdom and his own personal return as the Christ of judgment which subsequent history has shown to be quite without foundation. The view that Jesus was similarly lacking in penetration in reference to the implications of his own fundamental ethical position is perhaps only the natural sequel to this common notion with reference to his attitude on questions of eschatology. But it is a little surprising to find Professor Harnack, whom we have understood as repudiating the view referred to respecting Jesus' attitude toward eschatology, now advocating it in respect to Jesus' ethical position. There are indeed utterances of Jesus which standing by themselves might seem to sustain the view that he desired to continue the statutes of the Old Testament in force unabated, and even that he desired to perpetuate Pharisaic scribism. But there are others which as clearly indicate a complete emancipation of his mind from the authority of the Old Testament law, and an attitude of independent judgment upon

questions of morals and religion based upon his own insight into the moral world and his own interpretation of moral experience. So clear and strong is the testimony of these latter passages, so evident is it that the early church did not fully apprehend the position of Jesus on this matter that if it be necessary to interpret such utterances as Matt. 5:17, 18 and 23:3 as affirming the perpetuity of the Old Testament statutes, they may well be accounted for as modified under the influence of the thought of the church. How, indeed, can Harnack escape some such position respecting Matt. 23:3, in view of his affirmation that Jesus repudiated the Pharisaic additions to the law?

But even aside from any such critical emendation of the testimony of the gospels we are persuaded that their total evidence warrants no other conclusion than that Jesus, while abstaining from any direct assault upon the law, and recognizing the necessity that his followers should continue in relation to the existing system and in a measure under the leadership of the recognized teachers of the day, did also clearly claim for himself and for all other men of clear moral judgment, the right of independent thought in the realm of morals and religion, and was fully aware that this position involved the essential repudiation of the authority of the Old Testament law as such to limit the thought, constrain the conscience, or control the action of men of his own time or of later times.

Harnack underestimates the intellectuality of Jesus, and overestimates his likeness to Luther. He builded not better than he thought, but better than Harnack thinks. He was not the forerunner of Paul, unconsciously sowing seed which bore fruit only in the days of the greater apostle who followed him, but the clear-visioned prophet, and the tactful teacher. The teachings to which we owe our emancipation from the enslavement of the present to the past were not put forth by him in ignorance of their real significance and in an effort to buttress up that which he was really undermining, nor was it he but his contemporaries and the later church that failed to perceive their full significance.

THE LEGALISTIC ELEMENT IN PAUL'S RELIGION

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The Jewish contemporaries of Jesus and of Paul looked upon the first five books of the Old Testament as the most sacred literature in existence. The "Prophets" and the "Writings" were also sacred works, but the "Law" was given the place of supremacy. It expressed perfectly God's will for mankind and so in its careful observance lay the hope of salvation, according to the opinions of the theologians of the time.

Both Jesus and Paul criticized these ideas. Jesus' criticism was chiefly from the ethical point of view emphasizing that the law was an imperfect and inadequate expression of the Father's will for men, while Paul's criticism was more concerned with the practical question of how far it was necessary to observe legal requirements in order to attain salvation. What place did Paul assign the legalistic element in his religious thinking?

The desire for salvation was the primary interest of the early Christians as it had been of the Jews before them; and, as was the case with the Jews, the hope of salvation was ultimately associated with belief in God and confidence in his favor. But at present his perfect will for man was being hindered by sin which brought men under the divine displeasure, hence some means must be found to offset the effects of sin. Before Paul's conversion he was busily engaged in this task, attempting to balance his own account with God by an accumulation of good works, through loyal observance of the law, sufficient to outweigh the burden of his sin. Salvation, it was thought, could be procured by winning enough of the divine pleasure to overbalance the amount of displeasure which sin had wrought in the feelings of God. But in all probability Paul had been accustomed to rest his hope ultimately upon the thought of God's favor for his chosen people. A promise had been made to the patriarch Abraham that his seed should be remembered with favor, and the Jews were the lineal descend-

ants of Abraham. To be sure, sin had prevented the realization of the promise, but the promise itself had not been revoked. John the Baptist had preached against this trust in favoritism but he does not seem to have shaken seriously the current feeling of confidence. There still remained the assurance that God must bless Israel when the people had done their part and when the time had become ripe for him to act. Indeed he had been acting in the past, and the gift of the law as a disclosure of his will for them was a remarkable evidence of his continued favor.

The immediate need for getting rid of sin was emphasized by the thought of an impending judgment. When the time was fulfilled the divine wrath would manifest itself in judgment on the terrible day of the Lord when the sinners of the gentiles—and the gentiles were all sinners—would receive condemnation. The Jews, or at least those with whom Paul was most intimately connected before he became a Christian, thought to insure themselves against this day by their legalistic righteousness. When the crisis came all who had won the divine favor would attain unto a future state of blessedness in the messianic glory. Christians and Jews alike shared this hope of future blessing, but the Christians defined it more explicitly by adding that the believer would then come to dwell in the presence of Christ (I Thess. 4:17; II Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23; John 12:26; 14:3; 17:24).

This problem of procuring salvation was central in Paul's thought. It had been central previous to his conversion and it continued to be so afterward. While under Judaism he had two principal items in his doctrine of salvation: (1) God's favor for Israel traced back even to the promise made to Abraham, and (2) the need, before this promise could be fully realized, of making reparation to God for sin. The first idea related to the ultimate ground upon which the hope rested, and the second to the immediate means by which its realization was to be effected. After conversion Paul still maintained the same general theological position upon this subject. God's favor was still the ultimate ground of hope—salvation was of divine grace, a free gift to man; and amends had to be made to God for sin. But the means by which reparation was now understood to be made marked the distinctively new element in Paul's doctrine as a Christian. Before, he had thought that the burden of sin which blocked the divine

favor could be removed only through the rigid observance of the law, but he now believed it could be completely removed through faith in Jesus Christ and him crucified.

Thus the fundamentally new feature introduced by Paul into his interpretation of the law was negative. He contended that the Jews had wrongly supposed it to be the means of making amends to God for sin. The fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham and his descendants was not to be procured in this way, but its realization had been made possible only by the work of Jesus. Paul would not deny the necessity of making reparation to God—there must be some means devised for removing the obstruction raised by sin, but the Jews were thought to have made a mistake in supposing that man could effect this merely by obedience to the law. For this also man must have divine help, so it can be said that salvation is God's free gift made possible by the work of Jesus Christ, but it can become effective in the life of the individual only upon the condition of faith, that is, through belief in Jesus as Messiah and a life of trustful fellowship with him. So Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to everyone that believes. Thus there is still in Paul's Christian doctrine of salvation the twofold emphasis: God's favor and man's effort. The former has been extended and the latter has been given a new interpretation. The divine grace had been manifest both in the promise and in its fulfilment, and the individual who would realize it for himself must strive to live the life of faith. The new life "in Christ" had been substituted for the life of strict legalism, and in place of the letter which killeth there had come in the spirit which maketh alive.

What, then, has become of the law as an instrument of salvation? Though it can no longer be regarded as the pivotal point upon which the possibility of salvation turns, it is not on that account an entirely worthless affair, as some of Paul's later interpreters were inclined to claim. Paul by no means despised the law, though he did severely denounce his opponents for the way in which they were perverting its purpose. For him it was valuable as pointing to Christ; he respected it for its supernatural origin; in its words God himself had spoken (I Cor. 9:8-10); Christ had been present in those ancient days of Israel's wilderness wanderings (I Cor. 10:4); the Jews had

been greatly advantaged in that they had been intrusted with the "oracles of God" (Rom. 3:2); and the law was holy, righteous, and good (Rom. 7:12). Nor had Paul, even after his years of gentile missionary work where his own countrymen had strenuously opposed him, given up hope that ultimately God's glory would be manifested in its fulness through his chosen people's final acceptance of Jesus as Messiah. Just now, to be sure, it seemed as if God was turning away from them unto the gentiles, but this was only a temporary phenomenon—a means to an end—for ultimately the Jews will enjoy a great "fulness," a fulness all the greater because through their rejection it became necessary for the gospel preachers to turn to the gentiles. After all, heathen converts to Christianity are but a wild olive branch grafted into the good olive tree of Israel (Rom. 11:11-28).

Furthermore, the law represents a universal principle in the experience of humanity. Among the Jews this principle had come to clear and formal expression; and among gentiles, though more dimly discerned, it was also present, a law of God in their hearts guiding them by the action of conscience. It was even necessary for both Jew and Greek to keep this law—not merely in the letter but in the spirit—in all good conscience if they were to be saved. The fundamental principles of the law are universally and continually valid (Rom. 2:13-16). But the secret which will enable one truly to keep the law in spirit is to be found only in the life of faith. So Paul vigorously maintains that righteousness, and consequently salvation, can be attained only by faith and not by works of the law. Justification by faith is complete in itself, but along with it go the demand and the power to live according to the dictates of the law of conscience.

Paul's emphasis upon the primacy of faith furnishes the point of view from which to observe his real conception of the significance of the Mosaic law and of the past history of Israel in general. There are three chief items in his doctrine of the relation between faith and law, namely, (1) the faith principle antedates and underlies the law, (2) the law of itself is not capable of producing righteousness, and (3) the prime function of the law is disciplinary. Each of these items will bear further examination.

In point of time and origin the law is inferior to the Abrahamic covenant. The promise came to Abraham directly from God, but

the law was given 430 years later through the agency of Moses and through the mediation of angels (Gal. 3:17 f.). Even circumcision was a consequent of the promise to Abraham and not a condition of its fulfilment, "a seal of the righteousness of faith which he had while in uncircumcision" (Rom. 4:11); and subsequently God had continued to reveal a righteousness which was through faith to all the children of faithful Abraham (Rom. 3:21 ff.; Gal. 3:6 ff.). Hence faith has been and remains the real ground of justification in the sight of God.

While the law of itself has proved insufficient to produce righteousness, Paul seems to hold that theoretically salvation might be obtained by keeping the whole law perfectly—a possibility even for gentiles who kept the law of conscience. But the actual fact which all experience proved was that Jew and Greek were alike under the condemnation of sin because they had not kept the whole law, nor was it practically possible for the natural man to keep it (Rom. 3:9 ff.). This seems to be Paul's meaning when he declares that by the works of the law no man can be justified (Rom. 3:20; Gal. 2:16; 3:11). Inherently the law is utterly weak. As a letter it veils the truth and produces death (Rom. 2:27-29; II Cor. 3:6-18), and as an angelic enactment it is subject to the "elements of the world" which are inferior spirit beings ministering death rather than life (Gal. 4:3, 9; cf. Col. 2:8, 16-20) and which all are to be brought into subjection to Christ (I Cor. 15:20-28). Furthermore, if a law had been given capable of yielding true spiritual righteous life Christ's death would have been in vain—for Paul an impossible supposition (Gal. 2:21; 3:21; Rom. 8:1-4). It follows that the law is incapable of furnishing a practical means of attaining righteousness and so cannot be a positive agency of salvation.

And yet it has served a most important purpose, discharging a negative rather than a positive function. As Paul expressed it figuratively, speaking out of the depths of his own experience, the law was a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, and it did this by making them conscious that every way of escape was cut off except that of faith (Gal. 3:23 ff.; Rom. 3:19). By setting up a definite criterion for the regulation of conduct it enabled one to see how far his actual life fell short of the ideal, and thus a real consciousness of failure was

made possible. Previous to the Mosaic enactment sin (*ἁμαρτία*) existed and resulted in death, yet this sin could not be reckoned in terms of definite transgression (*παράβασις*) since there had as yet not been drawn before the eye of man any exact line over which he must not step (Rom. 3:20; 5:12 f.). The law came in and by laying down a rule for the guidance of action made possible definite transgression. No doubt Paul supposed that the law was designed to be a check upon sin, but he dwells especially upon the idea that it was intended to make men appreciate the culpable character of their conduct, even to make the trespass "abound," and so to set sin out in bold relief that the necessity of a way of escape might become the more evident (Gal. 3:19; Rom. 5:20; 7:7). In this way a fuller recognition of God's wrath was brought about (Rom. 4:15), man was made to realize his own helplessness (Rom. 7:7-11) and made ready to turn in faith to Christ (Gal. 3:24). For Paul the chief significance of the law was its power to produce a vivid consciousness of the sense of loss which man suffered through the inheritance of Adam's sin, the loss of the supremacy of the spirit over the flesh. Restoration was therefore possible only through faith by which one might put on the "new man," the spiritual Adam, who is Christ.

Paul's criticism of the law, while having important practical bearings upon questions of his own day, was still doctrinaire, and for modern thinking much less satisfactory than Jesus' ethical criticism. For Paul it still remained a "law"—a ready-made code put into the world from without rather than a historical record of the attainments which a people had made in religion and morals. So he could say he had not known coveting except the law had said, "Thou shalt not covet" (Rom. 7:7); yet we know him well enough to be sure that he would have set the law aside quickly enough in this respect, as he did in other respects, had his own moral sense failed to approve its demands. Virtually he recognized, though his rabbinical theological method interfered with the clear exposition of the fact, that the law had validity just in proportion to its serviceableness for the new religious conditions of his day. Practical efficiency was the real test of validity for Paul in actual life. In this he was close to Jesus who found the whole law subsumed in the principle of love to God and to one's neighbor (cf. Gal. 5:14; 6:2; I Cor. 12:31-14:1).

Yet Paul was not so far carried away by his sense of inner spiritual certainty as to break entirely with the past. It was fortunate that he taught his communities to use the Old Testament, for thus the religious enlightenment of the past was made to contribute helpfulness to successive generations. At the same time there was the danger that the ideas of antiquity might be set up as a final norm, and so become a hindrance to further spontaneous religious growth. This was the result which actually came about, but it was not in harmony with the real spirit of Paul, nor were his later followers just to him when they set Paul himself up as such a norm. The lesson that may be learned from him, if his career is viewed as a whole, is that moral and religious standards are relative, that is, they are shaped according to the needs of contemporary conditions, and as expressed in one age they may not be entirely adequate for another. Instead of literally adhering to the past, each generation should be striving to produce its own ideals, drawing freely from all that has gone before but at the same time striving to transcend all previous attainments. He who is inclined to be content with mere imitation may recall an expression of Jesus, which Paul's whole teaching seconds: "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:20).

Notwithstanding Paul's own freedom in spirit and his rejection of Mosaic rites for his converts, it must still be admitted that his exposition of Christian doctrine is built about a fairly distinct legalistic framework. Salvation was realized through the carrying-out of a *programme*, juridical conceptions were used to describe the details, and a prominent place was given to formal and external elements. For example, the divine wrath was offset by the objective fact of Christ's death, the problem of man's weakness was solved by a mystical conception of life "in Christ," and for works of the law faith was substituted which in its intellectual aspect meant a formal belief in Jesus' messiahship, though on its experiential side it pertained more especially to one's personal fellowship with God. And the details in which these main outlines were worked out were often phrased legalistically. Thus the significance of Jesus' death is explained by the idea that all men were under the sentence of death (Rom. 5:12 ff.), or by the doctrine of the curse of the law (Gal. 3:10-13), or by the

idea of sacrifice (Rom. 3:24 f.). While these expressions may not always be clear to the modern reader, probably their meaning for Paul and his readers should be sought in the usage of the time. Again the new strength of the new life was a new law—the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus which liberated one from the law of sin and death (Rom. 8:2); and justification, while not to be procured through Mosaic ritual, had as its ground the new “law of faith” (Rom. 3:27 f.; 5:2).

While we may not say that Paul’s theology is entirely free from legalistic elements, these after all are not fundamental in his religion nor is it in the sphere of doctrine that he makes his most significant contribution to Christianity. True, his system of thought has been given such prominence that sometimes one is led to question whether he rather than Jesus was not really the founder of our religion. If Christianity is essentially a system of doctrine as expounded by the great theologians of the past, Jesus can be its founder only in the sense of being the person about whom theological thinking has centered. Certainly his teaching as recorded in the first three gospels, which are the most reliable sources of information, is not concerned with problems of theological discussion after the Pauline fashion. But is Paul’s significance for Christianity truly comprehended when attention has been centered upon his dogmas? May he not speak quite as significant a message out of the depths of his religious life as out of the intellectual comprehension of his experience—his theology—which he recorded in contemporary phraseology to meet the local needs of his communities? If he had not first been the man of deep religious experience he would never have been the theologian that he was, and it may very justly be questioned whether Paul the man of moral enthusiasm, the devout and practical missionary, has not made a larger contribution to Christianity, through his life of service for the men of his day than he did through the system of theology he expounded. The story of his life and the appreciation of his spirit are not only of themselves an inspiring influence for modern men, but they should constitute the chief basis for a study of his teaching. The religion of Paul is primary, his theology secondary.

THE HEBREW IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

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III. BABYLONIAN INFLUENCE IN THE DOCTRINE OF SHEOL

In two previous articles¹ we have considered those conceptions of the future life which the Hebrews held before their migration out of their primitive home in the Arabian desert. We must now consider the new elements that entered their eschatology in consequence of the occupation of Canaan.

The Canaanites were a Semitic people, closely akin to Israel; and their original beliefs concerning the soul, as archaeology shows, were identical with those of the other Semites; but, as a result of long-continued Babylonian influence, these beliefs had undergone many important modifications during the two millennia that preceded the Hebrew conquest.² The Babylonian ideas of the other world that the Canaanites adopted they passed on to the Hebrews who settled among them and amalgamated with them. As a result of this process, the Old Testament contains not only primitive Semitic beliefs concerning the future life, but also another diverse cycle of ideas which goes back ultimately to a Babylonian origin. This leads us to consider the Babylonian conception of the other world and its analogies in the Old Testament.

The Sumerian, or pre-Semitic population of Babylonia had already reached a high stage of civilization before the Semites arrived on the scene. Primitive conceptions of the dead as resting with their kinsmen in the family grave the Sumerians had outgrown. They conceived of the shades as dwelling together in a mighty realm, and as socially organized after the manner of an ancient Babylonian kingdom.³

¹ *Biblical World*, January and February, 1910.

² Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, chap. iv.

³ On the Babylonian conception of Hades see Jeremias, *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (1887); Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (1890); Jeremias, "Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern," in *Das Alte Orient*,

For this realm the usual Sumerian name is *Aralû*, of which the etymology is unknown. Its common Hebrew name is *Shēōl*, of which also the meaning is uncertain. Jeremias and Jastrow think that *Shēōl* appears in Babylonian as *Shu'ālu*, but this is denied by Jensen and Zimmern. Another Babylonian name is "Land of the Dead," or "Death." Similarly in the Old Testament "Death" or "the Dead," is used frequently in poetic parallelism with Sheol (e. g., II Sam. 22:5 f.; Hos. 13:14; Ps. 115:17). Still another Babylonian name is "Earth." Thus in the epic fragment known as *Ishtar's Descent to Hades* (rev. line 5) we read, "Ishtar has gone down to the Earth, and has not come up."⁴ In the *Gilgamesh Epic* (XII, iv, 1) Gilgamesh asks Eabani after "the law of the Earth," meaning as the sequel shows, the nature of the other world.⁵ In the Old Testament also "Earth" is a frequent synonym of Sheol (Exod. 15:12; Isa. 14:9; 29:4, Eccles. 3:21).⁶ Closely similar in meaning is the Sumerian word *Kigal*, "Great Beneath," or "Under-world," which passes over into Semitic as *Kigallu*. To this corresponds the Hebrew *Ereš-tahtîyā* (or *tahtîyôth*), which our version renders "the lower part of the earth" but which more properly means "Lower Land" or "Under-world" (Ezek. 26:20; 31:14; 32:18, 24). Since this region is regarded as a vast cavern, it is called *Nakbu*, "the Hollow,"⁷ or "the Hole of the Earth."⁸ The same conception appears in the Old Testament in the name *Bôr*, "the Pit" (Ezek. 26:20; 31:14, 16; 32:18, 23; Isa. 14:15, 19; 38:18; Ps. 28:1; 30:3; 40:2; 88:6; 143:7; Prov. 1:12; 28:17; Lam. 3:53, 55), or the synonymous *Shahath* (Job 33:18, 24, 28, 30; Isa. 38:17; 51:14; Ezek. 28:8).

From these names it is evident that both Babylonians and Hebrews regarded Sheol as situated in the depths of the earth. One is said to "go down" to Aralû, or to "come up" from it. The gods of Aralû

1900, Part 3; Zimmern, in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1903); Warren, *The Earliest Cosmogonies* (1909). For the corresponding Hebrew conception see the works cited in the preceding article, *Biblical World*, February, 1910, p. 80.

⁴ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 263.

⁶ Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 18.

⁷ S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 16.

⁸ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 262.

are also the gods who cause vegetation to spring out of the ground. When the Babylonian kings wish to describe the depth to which they carried the substructures of their mighty edifices, they say that they laid the foundations "on the breast of Aralû," or "of Kigallu." The tower-temples of ancient Babylonia were regarded as counterparts of E-kur, "the mountain house" or inhabited earth, and beneath these the dead were buried, to correspond with the way in which the shades dwelt beneath the abode of the living.⁹ In the inscriptions the tops of these tower-temples are said to be as high as the mountains, and their bases as low as the under-world. Similarly in the Old Testament one "goes down" or is "brought down" to Sheol (Ps. 28:1; 30:3; 88:4; 107:26; 143:7; Isa. 14:19; 38:18; Ezek. 26:20; 31:14, 16; 32:18 f.), and the sick man who barely escapes death is said to be "brought up" from Sheol (I Sam. 2:6; Job 33:24, 28, 30; Ps. 9:13; 16:10; 30:3; 49:15; 86:13; Lam. 3:53, 55; Jonah 2:6; Wis. 16:13; Tob. 13:2). How literally this language is meant is shown by the story of Korah and his company who "went down alive into Sheol" (Num. 16:30-33; cf. Ps. 55:15; Prov. 1:12); or Amos 9:2, which speaks of "digging into Sheol." Isa. 7:11 speaks of "going deep unto Sheol"; Isa. 29:4, of the shade as speaking "deep from the earth"; Isa. 57:9, of "descending deep unto Sheol." Sheol is called the "under part of the earth" (Ps. 63:9; 139:15; Isa. 44:23), and both Sheol and the Pit have the adjective "beneath" attached to them (Deut. 32:22; Ps. 88:6; Lam. 3:55). Ecclus. 51:5 speaks of the "depth of the belly of Hades." Sheol is lower than the foundations of the mountains (Deut. 32:22; Jonah 2:6). Beneath the earth are the "waters under the earth" (Gen. 49:25; Exod. 20:4; Amos 7:4), but Sheol is lower than these (Job 26:5; Lam. 3:53; Jonah 2:3 f.). The deepest thing conceivable is said to be "deeper than Sheol" (Job 11:8), and the depths of Sheol are often contrasted with the heights of heaven (Job 11:8; Ps. 139:8; Isa. 7:11, Amos 9:2). From these expressions it appears that Babylonians and Hebrews alike regarded Sheol as a vast cavern under the ground, the subterranean counterpart of the space included between the earth and the celestial dome of the "firmament."

Sheol could be entered directly through a gap in the earth, as in

⁹ Hilprecht, *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*, 465.

the case of Korah and his company; but such a route was unusual. Ordinarily it was entered through a gate in the western horizon. The myths of the descent of Ishtar (Venus) and other astral deities indicate that the road to the under-world was that followed by the celestial bodies. The west was the region of darkness and death, as the east was the region of light and life. A man haunted by a ghost prays, "Unto the setting of the sun may he go."¹⁰ The Hebrews must have had a similar conception, since in Enoch 22:1-4 the entrance to Sheol is described as lying in the distant west.

The habitable earth was regarded as an island lying in the midst of the ocean; consequently, in order to reach the entrance of Sheol at the setting of the sun, it was necessary to cross the sea. In the *Gilgamesh Epic*, Gilgamesh, who has set out to seek his ancestor Ut (Pir ? Šit ?)-napishtim, after crossing the Syrian desert and passing the mountains of Lebanon, reaches the shore of the Mediterranean, and inquires of a goddess how he may cross the sea. She replies: "There has never been any ford, Gilgamesh, and no one who since the days of yore has arrived here has ever crossed over the sea. The sun, the hero, has crossed over the sea, but except the sun, who has crossed? Hard is the passage, difficult the way, and deep are the Waters of Death that lie before it. Where, Gilgamesh, wilt thou go over the sea? When thou comest to the Waters of Death, what wilt thou do?" Presently, however, she shows Gilgamesh where he may find a ferryman who will carry him over the waters. Together they make a forty-five days' journey to the western end of the Mediterranean. Then they enter upon the "Waters of Death," or the ocean beyond the straits of Gibraltar. After terrible perils they succeed in passing this, and land in the farthest west on the shore where Ut-napishtim dwells.¹¹ This ferry over the Babylonian Styx is alluded to also in an incantation, where the priest says, "I have stopped the ferry and barricaded the dock, and have thus prevented the bewitching of the whole world," i. e., I have prevented the spirits of the dead from coming back across the ocean to molest men.¹² Because of this necessity of crossing the "Waters of Death"

¹⁰ King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. 119, line 19.

¹¹ *Keilinschrißliche Bibliothek*, VI, 217-23; Jensen, *Gilgamesch Epos*, 28-33.

¹² Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies*, 15.

the Babylonian Sheol received the epithets *mat-nabalkattu*, "land of crossing over," and *iršitu ruḫtu*, "distant land."

This thought was familiar to the Hebrews also. They conceived of the earth as surrounded by water, and therefore spoke of the "ends of the earth." To reach Sheol one had to pass across, or through the waters. II Sam. 22:5 f. (= Ps. 18:4 f.) reads: "The waves of Death compassed me, the floods of Belial made me afraid, the cords of Sheol were round about me, the snares of Death came upon me; and Jonah 2:2-5: "Out of the belly of Sheol I cried. . . . for thou didst cast me into the depth, into the heart of the seas, and the flood was round about me; all thy waves and thy billows passed over me. . . . The waters compassed me about, even to the soul; the deep was round about me; the weeds were wrapped about my head" (cf. Job 36:16 f.; Ps. 88:7; 107:26; 124:3-5; Lam. 3:54; Amos 9:2 f.). Deut. 30:12 f. contrasts "crossing the sea" with "going up into heaven," and in Rom. 10:7 "crossing the sea" is interpreted as "descending into the abyss." Of the ferryman across the "Waters of Death" there is no trace in the Old Testament. Spirits are supposed rather to "fly away" to their abode (Ps. 90:10). The bird-like form assumed by the soul for its journey was a widespread belief of antiquity, and appears probably in the word "twitter" that is used of the voice of ghosts in Isa. 8:19; 29:4. This idea was not unknown to the Babylonians. In *Ishtar's Descent* (obv. 10) we read of the shades, "They are clothed like a bird in a garment of feathers."¹³

For the ancient Babylonians there were seven heavens presided over by the sun, moon, and the five planets. There were also seven stages of the tower-temple of the earth. In like manner *Aralû* was conceived as containing seven divisions separated by walls. These walls were pierced by seven gates, which had to be passed in succession by the goddess Ishtar before she reached the lowest depth (*Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 37-62). These gates were fastened with bars, and there was a porter who opened them to newcomers. The seven divisions of Sheol are familiar to Jewish Theology.¹⁴ They are first mentioned

¹³ See Paton, *op. cit.*, I, *Biblical World*, January, 1910, p. 18; Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* (1907).

¹⁴ Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, II, 328 ff.

in II Esdras 7:80 ff., but the idea is certainly much more ancient. Prov. 7:27 knows of the "chambers of Death" and Isa. 14:15; Ezek. 32:23 of the "recesses of the Pit." The gates of Sheol are referred to in Job 38:17; Ps. 9:13; 107:18; Isa. 38:10; Wis. 16:13; Matt. 16:18; and their bars in Job 17:16; Jonah 2:6. The Greek text of Job 38:17 speaks of the "gatekeepers of Sheol."

Sheol was primarily a cosmological conception, and had nothing to do with the grave as the abode of departed spirits, but the Babylonians were unable to keep the two ideas apart. The result was that Sheol was pictured as a vast tomb in which all individual tombs were included. The same ideogram was used both for grave and for Aralû. In the incantations the ghosts are said interchangeably to come forth out of the grave and out of Aralû. Everything that the heart delights in on earth is eaten by worms in the under-world (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XII, iv, 7 f.). Similarly in the Old Testament Sheol and the grave are used interchangeably in a great number of passages (e. g., Gen. 37:35; Ps. 88:3, 5, 11). Isa. 14:11 says, "Thy pomp is brought down to Sheol . . . the worm is spread under thee, and worms cover thee." Ezek. 32:17-32 speaks of all the nations as lying in graves in the midst of Sheol. Hence the conception that Sheol is dark (in spite of the fact that the sun goes down into it). Thus in Babylonian one of its epithets is "dark dwelling." In *Ishtar's Descent* (obv. 7) it is called "the house where he who enters is deprived of light," and in line 10 it is said, "they see not the light, they dwell in darkness" (cf. *Gilgamesh Epic*, VII, iv, 35). In like manner in Job 10:21 f. it is called "The land of darkness and of deep gloom, the land of thick darkness like darkness itself, the land of deep gloom without any order, and where the light is as darkness" (cf. Job 17:13; 38:17; Ps. 88:6, 12; 143:3; Ps. of Sol. 14:19). For the same reason Sheol is conceived as a place of dust. In *Ishtar's Descent* (obv. 9, 11) it is said, "Dust is their food, clay their nourishment. . . . Over door and bar dust is strewn" (cf. *Gilgamesh Epic*, XII, iv, 10). So also in the Old Testament "dust" is a synonym of Sheol (Job 7:21; 17:16; Isa. 29:4).

The Babylonian Sheol stands under the rule of the god Nergal or Irkalla (a personification of Irkallu, "great city," one of the names of Aralû), and his wife Ereshkigal, "mistress of the under-

world." In their service stand Namtâru, the death-demon, and a host of evil spirits who roam over the earth, afflicting men with all sorts of diseases, and seeking to win new subjects for their masters. Survivals of similar conceptions appear in the Old Testament. Sheol is frequently personified as a hungry monster opening its jaws to devour men (Isa. 5:14; Hab. 2:5; Jonah 2:2; Prov. 1:12; 27:20; 30:15 f.). It seems to have been worshiped as a deity by the Canaanites, to judge from certain place-names in Palestine.¹⁵ Muth, "Death," was deified by the Phoenicians.¹⁶ He appears in the Hebrew personal name *Ahi-Môth*, "Death is a brother," and probably in several place-names. In the Old Testament Death is often personified, and is used in parallelism with Sheol (Job 30:23; 38:17; Ps. 107:18). He appears as the ruler of Sheol in Ps. 49:14: "They are appointed as a flock for Sheol, Death shall be their shepherd"; and in Job 18:14: "He shall be brought to the King of Terrors." Another demon of the under-world is apparently Belial (*B'liya'al*), which the scribes have fancifully vocalized as though it meant "without use," but which may mean "the god who swallows" (*Bālî-ēl*). He appears in Nah. 1:15; II Sam. 22:5 (=Ps. 18:5). Similar is the "destroyer" of Exod. 12:23, or the "destroyers" of Job 33:22. Diseases are often personified as the evil demons of Sheol; e. g., Job 18:11-13, "Terrors shall make him afraid on every side, and shall chase him at his heels. His strength shall be hunger-bitten, and Calamity shall be ready at his side. It shall devour the members of his body, yea the Firstborn of Death shall devour his members"; Hos. 13:14, "Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from Death? Hither with thy plagues, O Death! Hither with thy pestilence, O Sheol!"; Ps. 116:3, "The pangs of Death compassed me, and the pains of Sheol got hold upon me" (cf. II Sam. 22:6). The death-angels of later Judaism are simply the degraded gods of the under-world of an earlier period.

To the attacks of these demons man sooner or later succumbs. "He who at eventide is alive, at daybreak is dead." "The day of death is unknown," but none the less it is certain; for it is "the day that lets no one go." So the ancient Babylonian expressed himself,

¹⁵ H. P. Smith, in *Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, I, 55.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

and similarly the ancient Hebrew said, "I go the way of all the earth" (Josh. 23:14; I Kings 2:2); "I know that thou wilt bring me to Death, and to the house appointed for all the living" (Job 30:23); "What man is he that shall live and not see Death, that shall deliver his soul from the hand of Sheol?" (Ps. 89:48); "Remember the sentence upon him, for so also shall thine be; yesterday for me, and today for thee" (Ecclus. 38:22).

Two instances are known in Babylonian literature of persons who escaped death, and were translated to the abode of the gods. Ut(Šit? Pir?)-napishtim, the Babylonian Noah, after narrating the story of the Flood to Gilgamesh, concludes: "Bel went up into the ship, grasped my hands, and led me out, led out my wife also, and caused her to kneel down at my side. He touched our shoulders, stood between us, and blessed us, saying, Formerly Ut-napishtim was a man, now shall Ut-napishtim and his wife be like gods, and Ut-napishtim shall dwell afar at the mouth of the streams" (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XI, 198-204). Adapa just missed immortality by declining the bread and the water of life (*Adapa Myth*, II, 24-34), which shows that it was not considered impossible for men to escape death. In the Old Testament we have the similar cases of Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and Elijah (II Kings 2:11). Such translations were, however, so rare that they constituted no basis for hope that men in general would escape the common doom of humanity.

Babylonian theology knows of a distinction in the fates of those who enter Aralû. One "rests in his chamber and drinks clean water"; another "eats what is left in the pot, the remnants of food that are cast out into the street" (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XII, vi, 1-12). When Ishtar incurs the wrath of Ereshkigal, the queen of the under-world, Ereshkigal bids her servant Namtâru: "Shut her in my palace, loose upon her sixty diseases" (*Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 68 f.). The *Gilgamesh Epic* (X, vi, 35-38) seems to speak of a judgment in the other world: "After the Watch-demon and the Lock-demon have greeted a man, the Anunnaki, the great gods, assemble themselves; Mammetu, who fixes fate, determines with them his fate; they establish death and life."

On this basis, Jeremias and Delitzsch¹⁷ found the theory that the

¹⁷ *Babel und Bibel*, 38 ff.

Babylonians distinguished a Paradise and a Hell in the under-world. The facts do not justify this view. In the passage which speaks of the different fates of the dead, the context shows that these fates depend, not upon moral distinctions, but upon the manner of burial. The one who "rests in his chamber and drinks clean water" is he who has enjoyed the honorable interment of a hero. The one who eats refuse is he "whose corpse has been cast out upon the field, whose ghost has no one to care for him." This is nothing more than a survival of the primitive animistic belief that the repose of the spirit depends upon the proper burial of the body.¹⁸ The "clean water" is not the "water of life," but the libation poured by a son upon the grave. The judgment pronounced by Mammetu and the Anunnaki is not a judgment upon character, that determines eternal life or eternal death, but is merely a decision whether or no a man is to die. Through severe illness his soul is brought down to the very gates of Aralû, and is greeted by the watchman; then the gods decide whether he is to remain in the under-world or is to return to life. This explains the following line, "but the days of death are not revealed." So, after it has been decreed that Ishtar is not to remain in Hades, the Anunnaki are assembled to pronounce her release, and to sprinkle her with the water of life that she may return to the upper-world (*Ishtar's Descent*, rev. 37 f.). The distinction in Aralû is merely one of relative comfort, it is not a distinction of place. In numerous passages the dead of all ages and all degrees are described as dwelling together in one common habitation. Thus in an epic fragment belonging to the Gilgamesh cycle the ghost of Eabani says:

In the house that I have entered, my friend, . . . crowns lie upon the ground. There dwell the wearers of crowns, who of old ruled the land, for whom Bel and Anu have appointed name and memory. Cold dishes are served up to them, and they drink water out of skins. In the house that I have entered, my friend, dwell Enu-priests and Lagaru-priests. There dwell enchanters and magicians. There dwell the anointed priests of the great gods. There dwell the heroes Etana and Ner. There dwells the queen of the under-world Ereshkigal. There dwells Bêlit-šêri, the scribe-goddess of the lower world crouching before her.¹⁹

The Old Testament conception is the same. It too knows of a distinction in the fate of the dead. Ezek. 31:16 speaks of the kings

¹⁸ See Paton, *op. cit.*, *Biblical World*, January, 1910, pp. 13 f.

¹⁹ Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies*, 16.

of the earth as "the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, that drink water and are comforted in the nether parts of the earth." Ezek. 32:23; Isa. 14:15, 19 speak of those who go down to "the recesses of the Pit" or the "stones of the Pit"; but in both of these cases their sad fate is not due to sin, but to the fact that they are "cast forth from the sepulcher like an abominable branch. . . . as a carcase trodden under foot." Lack of burial prevented rest in Sheol, and lack of burial in the family tomb excluded one from the society of his relatives,²⁰ but there is no trace in the Old Testament of a division of the dead on the basis of character. The sinner is threatened with Sheol as a punishment, but never with a particular section of Sheol (cf. Prov. 2:18; 21:16). The righteous Samuel says to the wicked Saul, who has been rejected by the Lord, "Tomorrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me" (I Sam. 28:19). Jacob says, "I shall go down to the grave unto my son mourning," in spite of the fact that he supposes Joseph to have been devoured by a beast, and therefore to be unburied (Gen. 37:33, 35 J). The Old Testament thinks far more frequently of the miserable lot of all the shades than of distinctions that exist among them.²¹ Isa. 14:9-23 and Ezek. 32:18-32 speak of all men of all races as dwelling together in Sheol, and Job 3:13-19 says:

Now should I have lain down and been quiet; I should have slept; then had I been at rest: With kings and counsellors of the earth who built tombs for themselves, or with princes that had gold, who filled their houses with silver: or as a hidden untimely birth I had not been: as infants which never saw light. There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary are at rest. There the prisoners are at ease together; they hear not the voice of the taskmaster. The small and the great are there; and the slave is free from his master.

This passage bears a striking resemblance to the Babylonian epic fragment quoted above. By both Babylonians and Hebrews Sheol was conceived as a land, a city, or a house, in which all classes of men dwelt together as on earth. Life went on much the same as in the upper-world, only all was shadowy. This conception was simply a survival of primitive beliefs concerning the existence of the dead that were combined with the later doctrine of Sheol.²²

²⁰ See Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 10 ff.

When once a man had entered Sheol the Babylonians believed that it was impossible for him to return to life again. The under-world was "the land of no return" (*Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 1, 6, 41), or the "enduring dwelling" (*ibid.*, rev. 31). Its watchman, the "Lurker of Nergal," does not release when once he has seized a man (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XII, iii, 18). Speaking of his friend Eabani, Gilgamesh says: "My friend whom I loved has become like clay . . . Shall I not also like him lay me down to rest, and not arise for evermore?" (*Gilgamesh Epic*, VIII, v, 36 f.). Similarly David says, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me" (II Sam. 12: 23); and the wise woman of Tekoah, "We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again" (II Sam. 14:14); "As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more" (Job 7:9 f.; cf. 10:21; 16:22; Eccles. 12:5; Eccus. 38:21; Wis. 16:14).

This denial that the dead can return means only that they cannot return to life, not that they may not leave Sheol to haunt the living, or to respond to the summons of a medium. The ancient belief in ghosts and in necromancy continued both in Babylonia and in Israel alongside of the belief in Sheol.²³

Whether the Babylonians believed in the possibility of a resurrection is a disputed question. A number of gods, particularly Marduk, bear the title *muballit mîttûti*, "quickener of the dead." In a hymn it is said, "He whose corpse has gone down to Aralû thou bringest back."²⁴ On the strength of these passages it has been claimed that the Babylonians believed in a resurrection,²⁵ but the evidence is insufficient. All that this language means is that the god in question raises up to life a man who is sick unto death. According to the primitive conception, the soul left the body in illness, or in unconsciousness, and drew near to the under-world. For a time it was doubtful whether it would remain with the shades or return to earth. The god who prevented its final separation from its body was called

²³ See Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19; and II, February, 1910, pp. 91.

²⁴ King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, No. 2, 21.

²⁵ Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 480.

"quickener of the dead," but that there could be any resurrection after the body had been buried and dissolution had set in there is no evidence; in fact, this idea seems to be directly contrary to the statements just quoted that there is no return for one upon whom Mammetu and the Anunnaki have pronounced sentence of death, but only for one whose entrance to Aralû they postpone. The "water of life" that is guarded by the Anunnaki in Aralû does not serve to bring back the dead, but only to restore those who have gone down alive to Sheol. It is given to Aşûshunamir, the messenger of the gods, that he may return to heaven, and is sprinkled on Ishtar that she may go back to the upper-world (*Ishtar's Descent*, rev. 19, 34, 38). Gilgamesh is washed with it that he may be cleansed from his leprosy (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XI, 254 ff.), and Adapa has it offered to him that he may attain immortality (*Adapa Myth*, II, 26). In these cases the dead are not restored to life, but the living are prevented from dying. The "water of life" is the divine counterpart of the holy water with which the priest sprinkled the sick man to keep the death-demons from dragging him down to Aralû. In only one passage is the possibility of a real resurrection suggested. When Ishtar is refused admission to Aralû, she says to the porter: "If thou openest not thy gate and I come not in, I will break down the door, I will shatter the bolt, I will break through the threshold and remove the doors, I will bring up the dead, eating, living; the dead shall be more numerous than the living" (*Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 16-20). This seems to refer to a restoration of the dead to life. From this it follows that the Babylonians regarded it as possible for the great gods to empty Aralû, if they saw fit; but there is no evidence that they believed that this power would ever be exerted.

The Old Testament doctrine is the same. When a man is dangerously ill, his soul is believed to leave his body and to approach the under-world. Thus Job 33:19-22 says: "He is chastened with pain upon his bed, and with continual strife in his bones. His flesh is consumed away that it cannot be seen, and his bones that were not seen stick out. Yea his soul draweth near unto the Pit, and his life to the Destroyers." Similarly Ps. 88:3 f.: "My soul is full of troubles, and my life draweth near unto Sheol. I am counted with them that go down into the pit." Isa. 29:4 speaks of half-

dead Judah as speaking like a ghost out of the ground. When Yahweh takes pity on the sufferer and restores him to health, he is said to bring him back from Sheol. Thus Hezekiah, when cured of his dangerous illness says: "Thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the Pit of Bel[al?]" (Isa. 38:17; cf. I Sam. 2:6; Job 33:24, 28, 30; Ps. 9:13; 16:10; 30:3; 49:15; 86:13; Lam. 3:53, 55; Jonah 2:6; Wis. 16:13; Tob. 13:2). In none of these passages is a resurrection referred to, or even a blessed immortality for the disembodied spirit, but only a release from impending death. The doctrine of a resurrection of the body does not appear in the Old Testament until after the Exile, and therefore has no connection with ancient Babylonian beliefs. Three cases are recorded in pre-exilic literature of a raising of the dead to life. The first is Elijah's raising of the widow's son (I Kings 17:21 ff.), the second is Elisha's raising of the son of the woman of Shunem (II Kings 4:32 ff.), and the third is the raising of a dead man through contact with the bones of Elisha (II Kings 13:21). In all these cases apparent death had just occurred, but the body had not yet been buried, so that one may question whether the connection between soul and body had been completely severed. These restorations do not differ materially from the preceding instances in which the souls of the dangerously ill are brought back from the gates of Sheol. Pre-exilic literature does not know a single instance in which reanimation occurs after dissolution has set in.

From the foregoing study it appears that the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol is the counterpart in every particular of the Babylonian doctrine of Aralû, and there can be no doubt that, directly or indirectly, it has been derived from Babylonia. When we consider the fact that this belief appears in the earliest Hebrew literature, we must assume that it was acquired soon after the conquest of Canaan; and that probably it was derived from the earlier inhabitants of the land, who, as known from recent archaeological discoveries, had become thoroughly Babylonianized long before the arrival of the Hebrews.

THE ETHICS OF CONFORMITY

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The student of the history of science is frequently struck by the complexity of modern thought. While it was entirely within the range of possibility for a scholar of the time of Aristotle or of Leibnitz to compass all human knowledge, to be indeed a master of the arts, no one today, no matter what his native endowment or his industry may be, can hope to do more than acquaint himself with the method of scientific study, to command in detail a definitely limited field of investigation, and perhaps, if time and strength allow, to familiarize himself with the general results of the various lines of historical, scientific, and literary research sufficiently to satisfy conventional demands, and to answer for himself, if he cares to, some of the more fundamental questions affecting life and practice.

The result of this astounding development after centuries of comparative intellectual quiescence has been what might well have been anticipated. The experience of exhilaration and delight which followed in the wake of the great lines of scientific advance has been succeeded by one of perplexity and baffled impotence in the face of certain problems of ethical and religious import, particularly, for which traditional solutions are no longer available. Many of the old landmarks of belief have been either completely swept away, or are about to yield under the pressure and grind of the mighty flood of scientific and historical criticism beating against them. Many views formerly believed to involve grave moral and practical issues have all but disappeared from among us. Some of these have been abandoned only after a prolonged and bitter struggle; others have slipped out of our thought unawares, owing either to a process of gradual corrosion, or else to the rise of other and more engrossing interests. It is quite natural also, where so much is found untenable, that a tendency should grow up to suspect everything which bears upon it the marks of age and tradition. The tendency to wholesale

abandonment has, in the absence of clear standards of truth and value, extended to, and thoroughly involved, not only theoretical beliefs, but, what is more serious, customs, moral standards, ideals, and institutions as well. As the theorists of society and the state of a former time concluded that, since society and the state were not divine institutions, but a mere human artifice, the result of compacts made by men for their mutual benefit, these institutions could again be dissolved by men when the benefits contemplated no longer accrued, so many in our time have seemed to lapse into the crude individualism of the eighteenth century, and have declared that, since the moral code, or the sacred writings, or the church, or the family are not divine institutions in an old and crude sense of the term, they are therefore of no further significance or value. In spite of the great progress of social and political philosophy and our theoretical insight into the fact that each of us, though a unit, is still an organic part of a larger whole and can deserve and enjoy liberty only under law, we are still widely disposed to emphasize our rights and forget our duties, and, in general, to underestimate the significance of the institutional life in virtue of which we have become what we are. The sabbath, with some, interferes with the right to work; with others, with the right to play; the legal regulation of the liquor traffic interferes with the right—well, to starve one's family, or it even checks the free development of social and aesthetic sentiments; marriage cuts across the lines of natural affinity and is incompatible with a many-sided personal development; and law and order in general are felt to be inconvenient restrictions of our natural rights and opportunities from which we are often justified in freeing ourselves.

Now, while much of this restiveness can doubtless be explained by assigning its social causes and motives, and while the right to fresh initiative in thought and action must, if there is to be progress, ever be held inviolate, and while there will always be times when the established must firmly be resisted and even destroyed, yet it must be plain that the present is no time to urge a destructive policy. Rather is it a time when a strong effort should be made, not indeed to arrest the progress of science—that would be an uncalled-for task—but to stem the tide of ill-considered and reckless criticism,

and systematically, by teaching and example, to resist the wanton destruction of the vast treasures of human experience as crystallized in customs, morals, and institutions, the result of the thoughts, impulses, and instincts of countless millions of men and women, and the precious right and inheritance of each new generation. It should be remembered, in the first place, that no individual or nation can realize its best possibilities when afflicted with that most debilitating of all intellectual maladies, a chronic skepticism. "The deepest, nay the only theme of the world's history," says Goethe, "is the conflict of faith and unbelief. The epochs in which faith, of whatever form it may be, prevails, are marked epochs in human history, full of heart-stirring memories and of substantial gain for all after-times." The reason why his subjects were not heroes, but only half-heroes, says Carlyle in his essay on Johnson, Rousseau, and Burns, was not the want of organization for men of letters, or any other adventitious reason. The fatal misery of the literary man, to quote the powerful words of Carlyle,

was the spiritual paralysis of the age in which his life lay; whereby his life too, do what he might, was half paralyzed. The eighteenth was a skeptical century: in which little word there is a whole Pandora's Box of miseries. Skepticism means not intellectual doubt alone, but moral doubt; all sorts of infidelity, insincerity, spiritual paralysis. . . . That was not an age of faith, an age of heroes! The very possibility of heroism had been, as it were, formally abnegated in the minds of all. Heroism was gone forever; triviality, formulism, and commonplace were come forever. The "age of miracles" had been, or perhaps had not been; but it was not any longer. An effete world; wherein wonder, greatness, Godhood could not now dwell—in one word, a godless world!

"It must be a duty especially laid upon us," says G. Stanley Hall, one of our own most accomplished scholars, "to see that negations do not cause religious indifference, but are swallowed up in essential and glorious affirmations, for the measure of man's power in the world is his capacity for belief and not that for doubt."

It is the high duty of the intellectual leaders of this time, in the second place, to seek to create a large and vital appreciation of the vast significance of the institutional life of which we form a part; to define anew the true relation of the individual to the social whole, and of the present to the historical past of which we are the natural outgrowth and issue; to develop and strengthen the historical sense

on the possession of which we often pride ourselves, but to which we have, after all, rendered lip service only. The value of our spiritual inheritance from the past is, I am confident, still greatly underestimated. This applies not so much to our scientific inheritance, which has, owing to the comparative meagerness of empirical materials in the past, not been so great, but it does apply pre-eminently to those sciences which depend mainly upon introspective methods for their materials, and to morality, custom, laws, and institutions which represent, if one may say so, the precipitated result of the common experiences of all mankind. It is a propitious sign that men of technical training and highly critical spirit have in no uncertain terms called attention to the significance for social welfare of existing morality and institutions. So the late Henry Sidgwick, after subjecting common morality to what is perhaps the most searching criticism existing in any language, has this to say in a forceful and eloquent passage which every student of moral and institutional life would do well to lay to heart:

The Utilitarian must repudiate altogether that temper of rebellion against established morality, as something purely external and conventional, into which the reflective mind is always apt to fall when it is first convinced that the established rules are not intrinsically reasonable. He must, of course, also repudiate as superstitious that awe of it as an absolute or divine code which intuitionist moralists inculcate. Still, he will contemplate it with reverence and wonder, as a marvelous product of nature, the result of long centuries of growth, showing in many parts that fine adaptation of means to complex exigencies as the most elaborate organisms exhibit; he will handle it with respectful delicacy as a mechanism, constructed of the fluid element of opinions and dispositions, by the indispensable aid of which the actual quantum of human happiness is actually being produced: a mechanism which no politicians or philosophers could create, yet, without which the harder and coarser machinery of law could not be permanently maintained, and the life of man would become, as Hobbes forcibly expresses it, "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

Our plain duty toward our scientific, moral, and institutional inheritance will accordingly be, not to neglect or destroy, but to evaluate and conserve. And this is often not so difficult to do if one only has a mind to address himself to the task. Whatever, for example, may be our views of the origin of the literatures which constitute the Bible, or of their scientific or historical accuracy,

there can be no doubt about their significance for our moral and religious life, representing as they do the accumulated wisdom of a race gifted above all others with moral and religious genius, and containing many passages whose dash and finish entitle them to a place of highest distinction among the noblest literatures of the world. To lose the Hebrew Scriptures would be to forfeit one of the finest fruits of our common civilization. Again, moral laws, though not invented and arbitrarily delivered by God in an old and crude sense, are nevertheless, as we have already seen, absolutely indispensable instruments of moral and social life, and by their universality and suggestive force still vie with the starry heavens in filling men's bosoms with awe and inspiration. And conscience, we say, is not the voice of God implanted in the heart as an infallible guide to action, but, to use Paulsen's words, only the will and voice of society to whose bidding the individual, owing to the cumulative force of social tradition, gives a ready obedience. Well, what then? Is the function of conscience in any way impaired, or its social value diminished, by theories of its origin? Does language lose its function as an instrument of communication by theories of its natural origin and continuous growth? And what of the finality of the Christian religion? Has it inherent in it the elements of permanence? Well, one might inquire in turn, What of faith, hope, and love? Are these of evanescent interest and value, soon to be outgrown? And is Jesus really divine? And does he indeed still live? To this we ask once more, Is patience divine, and self-forgetful devotion, and spiritual-mindedness, and obedience unto death? Or can any good man or happy deed perish and pass into nothingness? His body indeed is not here. But the master's spirit with all its subtle force and charm, his profound personality, is still with us, and is increasingly with us, the very essence, according to Harnack, of Christianity itself: "a personality so strong, so pure, so noble, as to leave an indelible impress upon the human mind, which far from fading rather grows, and gives promise of growing till it shall remold humanity into its likeness."

THE GROWTH OF THE MISSIONARY IDEA IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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I. THE PRE-EXILIC SITUATION

In two short articles the attempt will be made to deal in a summary but suggestive way with an important question, viz., how far and in what way do we find in the Old Testament literature the record of a true missionary idea and a real missionary movement? While recognizing that it is not possible to cut a living history into absolutely separate sections, for convenience of treatment we propose to deal with (1) the pre-exilic situation, and (2) the post-exilic missionary movement.

Such a review has, of course, lying behind it a certain historical point of view and a literary criticism which cannot now be made the subject of elaborate statement or detailed justification. This position is usually referred to as "the modern point of view," and while that correctly designates its form, its true spirit is shown in the effort to conserve that which is noblest in the thoughts of reverent students of all ages. It recognizes the rearrangement of the literary material, in the Pentateuch and elsewhere, which has been accepted by the great body of present-day scholars, and insists upon the fact of development which has been so clearly proved and abundantly illustrated by the labors of these scholars. It is useless to attempt to trace the growth of any great truth through the twelve centuries which form the historical space of Israel's pre-Christian life if we follow the example of some apologists who seek to magnify the spirituality and sublimity of the beginning while giving undue prominence to the national and particularistic traits which mark the close of this great movement. Those who frankly recognize that God works through normal growth as well as through sudden catastrophes, and that such growth is exceedingly complex in its character, will

not need to be afraid of the word "development" or the changeful, comprehensive movement for which it stands.

It is true of a nation as of an individual that being precedes doing; there must be some maturity of character, some clear grasp of truth before there can be an outflow of life to render service beyond the bounds of that nation. Today in our zeal that manifests itself in a desire for larger subscriptions and more perfect organization for the purpose of sending the message into the outside world we are in danger of forgetting how long it took, and by what a complex process the spiritual and intellectual content of the message was formed. This study of history is surely one of the best helps against falling into a worship of the mere external machinery of missionary work. The thing that makes the Old Testament in the best sense a missionary movement is the fact that it is the story of such a varied life, a life beset by all common human temptations, a life moved by all common human aspirations, a life that learned to express in terms capable of ever-larger interpretation the needs and sorrows of the nation and the soul. No complete ideal programme dictated within a brief space of time could have become such a reflection of the life of man and such a revelation of the will of God. It is not enough that we should today, in our missionary conventions, rejoice that we possess the richest revelation and the highest gospel; it is essential to the upbuilding of our own spiritual life that we should appreciate, in some measure, the wonderful way by which men have been led to believe in one righteous redeeming God and to apply to the life of man and of society the principles of the cross. In seeking to understand the growth of the missionary idea in the Old Testament we have to bear in mind that the earlier period is the time when the people are engaged in the strenuous work of fighting for national existence and shaping for themselves forms of social life and literary expression which shall most appropriately set forth for their own sustenance and satisfaction their faith in God and their relation to the great world.

We must also bear in mind that when we are dealing with the evolution of an idea we are handling a subtle thing and must not make statements too positive and absolute; for example, we might easily say that the spirituality and universality of God is a lofty truth which comes only "in the fulness of time," that is, at the end

of a long development. This is certainly true, and anyone who is in sympathy with the statement will readily make the necessary qualification without any carping criticism. But it is well to remember that in the earliest, simplest form of this faith there is the promise and potency of the highest form. When men sought God in the trees and fountains and on the high hills that seemed to reach to heaven, there was a certain measure of universality within that faith. The attempt to restrict the special manifestations of the divine presence to one temple had no doubt a useful part to play; it sacrificed poetry and picturesqueness to intelligence and purity. But it was only an intermediate stage toward a clearer and fuller belief in the universal presence and the sacredness of the whole world. The Hebrews never attained that highest point where the great teacher can declare with regard to true worship that it is not limited to this mountain or that but is the privilege in all times and places of spiritual approach to the one eternal God. In a certain sense it is true that Jewish religion never frees itself from "this mountain," but that statement does not contain all the truth.

We are concerned then with the history and experience of a certain number of tribes that come into Palestine some thirteen centuries B. C., make for themselves a home, attain a measure of unity, build up a nation, form a particular type of religious life, create for themselves an everlasting name, and leave a contribution to the world's life and literature which is of the highest importance. This summary statement of the situation surely shows that there cannot be a fully developed missionary idea in the earliest stages. In Gen. 12:3 we meet a passage which at the first glance may appear to contradict this statement. It reads thus—a promise to Abraham—"I will bless them that bless thee, and him that curseth thee will I curse; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." Now it is an ungracious task to rob a well-known text of its rich meaning and sacred association, but Old Testament exegesis has its own task, and historical investigation cannot be altogether guided by sentiment. Here we are met by two facts: (1) that if we could give the final clause of this promise the larger meaning which it appears to have in the English Version we would have to refer it not to a period some centuries before the Exodus but to the time of the early prophets;

(2) however there is no need to discuss that, as when the passage is carefully read, and placed in the whole class of passages to which it belongs we find that the idea is not that Abraham is to be a means of blessing to all tribes, but that his prosperity shall be such, as a result of Jehovah's blessing, that all who know him shall wish for themselves like good fortune. Compare Gen. 48:20: "And he blessed them, saying, In thee shall Israel bless, God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh," etc. Indeed on a survey of the whole field we are compelled to admit that while in the earliest period there is preparation for the missionary idea the explicit expression of such an idea can, in the nature of the case, only be looked for in later times.

The beginning of the Hebrew religion, like all beginnings, is shrouded in mystery. We have to judge of the beginning from the end, and by the rich fruit we have to recognize the noble seed. While the minute examination of the literature has for ever shattered the mechanical verbal theory of inspiration it has opened our eyes more fully to the wonderful work done by inspired teachers and to the glory of a movement which is larger than any teacher or generation of teachers and which as it unfolds before us leads us to say, "It is the Lord's doing and is marvelous in our eyes." While the earliest records are so scanty and the materials at the disposal of the historian therefore so fragmentary we still believe that threads of living purpose can be discovered running from that early time when Israel fought his way into western Palestine and attempted to establish there a settled order and abiding life. There are those who would date the beginning of what we call specifically Hebrew religion much later, in the time of David; but while we must concede that the earliest records are, in many cases, permeated by the ideas of later times, we believe that the more conservative view accepted by the great body of scholars will ultimately prevail. The fact then which we accept as standing at the beginning of the national life has in it rich promise, viz., that while the tribes in the earliest days may have had tribal gods, and religious customs which we now, in accord with the judgment of later times, brand as "superstition," the belief in Jehovah as Israel's God has in it from the first something of unifying force. In its simplest form, that is, the earliest form in which we meet it, it bound together a number of clans and tribes in a common hope and for a common effort. This

is far beyond any mere animism or polydemonism, and, though we cannot by any microscopic investigation follow with perfect clearness the psychical process by which the transformation is made we see it there and we are glad to recognize its spiritual significance. There is a suggestion of that which comes to such clearness in later times, in Deuteronomy and Deutero-Isaiah, and which we regard as one of the greatest contributions of the Old Testament to the world's highest religious thought, the belief, of immense importance though now apparently so commonplace, that history as well as nature is the sphere in which the supreme Lord Jehovah manifests his unlimited power and wise purposes. In the rough unsettled period of the "Judges" and in later days, in many critical periods and heroic hours, we can see that the sacred name and the common faith play a great part in uniting the peoples in worship and work, in suffering and battle. Still this must not blind us to the fact that the old tribalism which was so hard to shake off and which still survives in varied ecclesiastical forms was in those early days a very severe limitation of the theological outlook. The passage in I Sam. 26:19, so much quoted and discussed, in which David, speaking of his enemies says, "For they have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of Jehovah saying, Go, serve other gods," certainly suggests the close relationship of Jehovah to the soil on which his people dwell and where he is worshiped. At least David does not regard his exile as an opportunity for missionary work but rather as a personal deprivation and a danger of apostasy. He has not reached the stage which finds such rich expression in one of the noblest of the psalms, ascribed to him in later days (Ps. 139). The "Holy Land" is then a limited portion of earth and foreign gods are as real as foreign lands. The faith has not yet become pure and self-sustaining enough to venture even in vision into the great outside world.

In the meantime the struggle for existence by means of which the faith of Israel is enlarged as well as strengthened is the indispensable preparation for the larger more distant work. When David establishes his capital in Jerusalem and claims a place for Jehovah's sanctuary, when Elijah in the northern kingdom protests against the worship of the Tyrian Baal and demands perfect loyalty—these and similar things are not mere isolated political events, they

are related parts of a series of movements by which Israel was prepared to play its great part in the world. To mention all these would call for an outline of the whole history and that is not necessary for our purpose. To understand the pre-exilic situation we have to see as clearly as possible (1) the position of Israel with regard to the foreigner and stranger, and (2) the growth of great religious principles which gave rise to the consciousness of a worldwide mission.

It is due to the complexity of life that we meet here the fact, paradoxical as it may appear, that there was not as much exclusiveness in the earlier as in the later stages. True, at all stages the particularism may have been greater in theory and dogma than in actual life. The living forces of personal affection and social intercourse tend at all times to soften our national and ecclesiastical sectarianism. The separateness of the Jew even in still later times seems to have been more a matter of stiff creed and crystallized custom than of racial purity. And in the earliest days the Hebrews were not so sharply distinguished, in these respects, from their neighbors of similar race and language. They did not attempt to exterminate these neighbors but lived side by side with them and entered into varied relationships with them. One attempt to exterminate a neighbor is referred to as something that needed atonement for the sake of Jehovah's justice and the feelings of the injured party (II Sam., chap. 21). The kingdom of David was no doubt built and strengthened by the accession of friendly clans. When some centuries later a great many families were transported from Northern Israel to Assyria, these people were so much like the people among whom they were settled that their absorption was not at all a difficult matter. A still longer course of teaching and discipline was required as well as such sharp experience as the Exile, the battle for the Law under Ezra and Nehemiah and the Maccabean revolt before the exclusive Jew could be formed and made almost impervious to foreign influences. This does not mean that the Hebrews in those early days had no consciousness of separateness of national and religious life; it is simply asserted that the lines were not so sharply drawn, that the existence of other gods was recognized, that life was not so completely hedged about by the Law and hence at times there was danger of the line of demarkation becoming too thin. The customs of the

Israelites, in this respect, were those of the time in which they lived. They had friendly intercourse with their neighbors; they had also quarrels and wars. They entered into marriages and other forms of alliance with those outside their own tribe. Slaves taken in war might receive a position in the family or might even be set to serve in the temple of their god. Those who came into intimate relations with them, except in special cases, as the kings' foreign wives, etc., must come into relationship to their god not because of any missionary idea or because of a reasoned conviction of the absolute superiority of their god, but because of the antique view of the close relation between the god and the land. The sojourner is constantly recommended to the kindness of those who have power and riches; he is classed with widows, orphans, and Levites as one whose dependent position should save him from oppression. These frequent exhortations breathe a spirit of humanity. Religious privileges are open to the stranger but he is not yet involved in a meshwork of minute laws. There is not yet discoverable in the relation of Israelites to foreigners and sojourners any consciousness of a mission to evangelize the world.

It is in the attempt to purify the religion of Israel and separate it from foreign elements that there comes at the same time a sense of separateness and the beginning of universality. The prophets who sought to proclaim the ideas of morality and brotherhood as more acceptable to Jehovah than the sensuous ritual of the sanctuaries set forth principles of universal application which they applied in the first instance for the redemption of their social and national life embodying truths that were meant for mankind. When Amos in that marvelous first chapter of his book lifts the conduct of Israel and the surrounding tribes into the light of those pure moral demands which are proclaimed as being free from tribal limitations, there is the beginning of a universal morality which implies the great thought of one God whose rule is not restricted to a particular nation. Hosea's God who demands mercy rather than sacrifice, and Isaiah's sublime King whose supreme desire is for social righteousness must finally pass all sectarian barriers and claim a universal home. This we believe is the real genesis of the central missionary thought, viz., there is one God of the whole world who is also Israel's God, this

and not any world-god brought in mechanically from outside. From the practical side and from the hearts of men who are inspired by a living faith and moved with pity for the ignorance and need of their fellow-men does this great belief grow. Following out this line and searching into the deep meaning of the prophetic messages, faithful disciples will come to see first that the righteous God is supreme Lord, and finally that there can be only one supreme Lord, the creator of the world, the guide of history, the ruler of nations, the redeemer of those that put their trust in him. For long this universal truth may be bound in local limitations, but it contains within itself the pledge and promise of its own enlargement. In the Book of Deuteronomy, which represents an effort to embody these principles in persuasive preaching and appropriate precepts, these ideas may be found in forms that to us seem contradictory. "One God and one sanctuary" is a formula which to us has lost its meaning; for us the oneness of God perfectly realized means the abolition of all special sanctuaries so that the great words may be fulfilled:

Where'er they seek Thee Thou art found
And every place is hallowed ground.

But a nation, like an individual, learns one great truth at a time, and does not all at once see the full significance of that truth. In this popular lawbook we have not only a great document which has influenced profoundly the life of the Jew through many centuries, we have also a cluster of great ideas which shall become operative in all true missionary work. We have the thought of God in history coming to clear expression, history should be studied, the memory of the nation should be exercised to keep alive the great thought of God as one who guides the life of the nation and subjects to a real moral discipline. Religion here begins to become a thing of the book and is regarded as matter for intelligent, systematic teaching. This may bring a danger of formalism but it opens the way for intellectual breadth and spiritual greatness. It opens the way also for that great theological conception, the doctrine of election, a doctrine of vast possibilities even if also capable of sad perversion. When Israel and Jehovah were coincident and coterminous that idea could not come into full play. When Israel is set by its boldest thinkers

against the background of the world's large life and Israel's God is also Lord of the world, then election expresses the special relation of this nation to the God of the world. Now, it depends upon how this idea of election is interpreted whether it is a missionary idea or not. It may be interpreted as election to privileges and prosperity of a chosen few who shall lord it over the "lesser breeds without the law," and it has been so interpreted, even in latest Christian days, showing that the loftiest truth may be turned to sectarian uses. It may beget dark bigotry and wild fanaticism. But, thank God, it may receive its true interpretation as election for service—and out of it may come a missionary movement of some form. Of one thing we may be sure, viz., that if the highest truth is reached it cannot be permanently confined behind any nation that is not its destiny and cannot be its fate. Ideas, however, have their history, and it is not simply a history of the thoughts of men but also of the facts of life. The next great fact in the history of Israel, after the struggle that produced the Book of Deuteronomy, is the fact of the Exile. Then a great question had to be faced, even this, "How can we sing Jehovah's song in a foreign land?" Israel had to face that question not only for herself but also for the world. If the song is altogether earthly and cannot be detached from the particular soil, then it cannot bear transplanting and must die; but if it passes through bereavement and silence to a larger life it may have an inspiring note that shall touch the heart of humanity and enter into the everlasting heritage of mankind. It may be that in the darkest hour the message from the past stood out in a clearer light and was prepared for future service.

AN EXEGETICAL STUDY OF MATT. 11:25-30

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The interpretation of this great passage—in some respects the central utterance of the gospels—is beset with a host of problems, only a few of which can even be touched upon in a short article. It would be too much to say that these problems are now in process of solution; but in the case of no New Testament passage have the careful methods of modern investigation more abundantly justified themselves than in this. The verses, which seemed to stand isolated in the synoptic tradition and were therefore discarded by many critics as a Johannine interpolation, can now be related to the teaching of Jesus as a whole. They can be employed, with a degree of confidence which was formerly impossible in the consideration of vital questions affecting his inner life and his messianic claim.

Among the more notable of recent discussions of the passage are those of Harnack (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, pp. 189-216), Wellhausen (*Evangelium Matthaei, in loc.*), J. Weiss (Comm. on Matthew in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*), Loisy (*Synoptiques*), Holtzmann (*Synoptiker*), Schmiedel (*Das vierte Evangelium*, pp. 48-51), Klostermann (*Matthäus*). These distinguished scholars are frequently at variance with one another on questions of detail; but the broad results at which they arrive are remarkably similar. It is now possible to speak of a modern interpretation which represents something more than the irresponsible guesswork of one or two critics.

The passage appears at first sight to consist of three parts, thrown together in a merely casual sequence. Jesus thanks his Father that the unlearned have understood his message (vss. 25, 26); he expresses his sense of a filial relation to God (vs. 27); he invites the heavy laden to accept his yoke (vss. 28-30). The three sayings have sometimes been explained as separate logia; and some color is given to this theory by the Lukan parallel (Luke 10:21, 22) which omits

the third saying altogether. Luke, however, is evidently anxious to connect the passage with the incident of the return of the disciples. The third saying would have been quite out of place in this context, and the evangelist may have purposely omitted it, intending, perhaps, to weave it into his narrative at some later stage. There is no valid reason for breaking up the passage as it stands in Matthew, for on closer examination a real unity of thought can be traced in its three sections. Jesus thanks the Father that the simple multitude, which knows not the Law, can receive his revelation. He rejoices to think that this revelation, intelligible to all, is also the fullest and deepest. He closes with his tender invitation to the common people, bidding them throw off the yoke which they have found so grievous and learn the true will of God from the kindest of teachers.

The three divisions of the passage, therefore, are closely connected, and the connection only becomes the more apparent as we study them in detail. But it will be convenient to take them separately, while bearing in mind that they form a harmonious whole. Each of them has its own peculiar difficulties, which require to be considered by themselves.

I. The general meaning of vss. 25, 26 is sufficiently clear. Jesus recognizes, with gladness and thankfulness, that although the "wise and prudent" have rejected him, he has found a welcome among the simple-hearted. In this issue of his work he discerns the fatherly will of God. The chief difficulty in the verses is concerned with the indefinite reference to "babes" (*νήπιοι*). According to Luke's reading of the passage, the simple ones who had understood the gospel were the disciples; but this explanation is almost certainly too narrow. Jesus has spoken of the "wise and prudent"—the arrogant doctors of the Law; and the "babes" whom he contrasts with them can be no other than the unlearned multitude. This contrast, as we shall see, is explicitly set forth in vss. 28-30.

II. It is in the second section of the passage that the main problems confront us. Jesus seems to pass abruptly from the thought of men's attitude toward him, and to assert his sense of a unique dignity. All power has been committed to him, and he is conscious of a union with God in which the Father and the Son are all-sufficient to one another. This doctrinal interpretation of the verse was never ques-

tioned until recent years; but there are strong arguments for putting it aside and replacing it by one which is more in harmony with the passage as a whole, and with the uniform Synoptic teaching.

a) The reference in "all things are delivered unto me" is not to cosmical power but to religious knowledge and insight. In the previous utterance Jesus has spoken of the rabbinical teachers, whose claim to wisdom was based on their conversance with the *παράδοσις*, or religious "tradition." He emphasizes the difference between himself and them by using their technical term in a new application. His "tradition" has come to him from his Father (*παρεδόθη*). He is no transmitter of doubtful knowledge handed down from teacher to teacher, but has received his message from God himself, with whom he is in direct communion, as a Son with his Father.

b) It is more than probable that at least two important changes must be made in the existing text. Irenaeus states that in certain versions of the gospel "hath known" (*ἐγνων*) took the place of "knoweth"; and denounces this substitution as the work of heretics. But the early patristic quotations of the verse seem all to assume the past tense instead of the present. We may reasonably infer that in the original saying Jesus did not allude to a timeless knowledge, inherent in him now as from all eternity, but simply contrasted himself with previous teachers. The "tradition," even at its fountain-head, had represented an inferior revelation; and now for the first time God was truly known. Again, in ancient quotations and manuscripts alike, the first clause ("no man knoweth the Son but the Father") is frequently placed second, in a sort of awkward parenthesis. This uncertainty about its position in the verse is itself suspicious; and there are fair grounds for regarding it as an interpolation. A tendency may well have been at work, from an early time, to assimilate the verse to the Johannine type of doctrine. When "knoweth" was once substituted for "hath known," it was only natural to bring out the theological implication by the addition of the new clause.

c) The parallel verse in Luke reads "knoweth who the Father is" instead of "knoweth the Father." This Lukan phrase is less in keeping with the ordinary language of later Christian thought, and is therefore more likely to be authentic. Jesus would thus imply,

not that he had attained to knowledge of God in some mystical or theological sense, but that he understood the moral character of God. He had discerned, as no one else had done, that God was not an exacting taskmaster, jealous of his Law, but a Father, whom men could obey willingly and gladly. This knowledge had come to him in virtue of his own sonship. He was conscious that he stood to God in an altogether unique relation, which enabled him at once to understand God's will and to interpret it to others.

III. The invitation in the closing verses is addressed not, as commonly understood, to the sinful and sorrowing, but to the common people of whom Jesus has spoken above. He alludes elsewhere (Matt. 23:4) to the "burdens grievous to be borne" which the official teachers laid upon men's shoulders; and in the present passage the reference is undoubtedly the same. The people looked to their appointed leaders for a rule of living and a religious enlightenment in which they might find rest. All that they received was the "yoke" of a meaningless ritual. A routine of ordinances was imposed on them which crushed all the joy and spontaneity out of life and made any true communion with God impossible. In exchange for this "yoke," which neither their fathers nor they had been able to bear (Acts 15:10), Jesus offers them his own, i. e., the new rule of obedience which he laid on his disciples. He tells them that in three ways his "yoke" is different from that which had hitherto oppressed them: (1) They will be instructed by one who is willing to bear with them patiently and teach them. "I am meek and lowly of heart," i. e., gentle and condescending. Jesus here contrasts himself with the Pharisaic teachers who despised the common people and held them at a distance. He is himself one in heart with the humble, and they can "learn of him" without fear of a repulse. (2) They will gain from his instruction what they have been vainly seeking. Their desire has been for "rest"—rest of spirit in the certainty of God's love and providence. This will be given them only when they have learned "who the Father is." (3) They will find the new "yoke" easy to be borne. It does not consist in burdensome ordinances and restrictions, but in willing obedience to the Father, whom it is a joy to serve.

These closing verses of the passage present a series of striking coincidences with the prayer which concludes the book of Ecclesi-

asticus (cf. esp. Ecclus. 51:23-27). From this it has been inferred by some scholars that words not literally spoken by Jesus have been attributed to him by the piety of the early church. But the coincidences, when carefully examined, appear to be little more than verbal. Their existence may be purely a matter of accident; or, if this is regarded as doubtful, we may fairly assume that Jesus was himself acquainted with Ecclesiasticus and that certain of its phrases came back to him, perhaps unconsciously. In any case there is no valid reason for calling in question the full authenticity of the saying. Not only does it bear the unmistakable impress of a word of Jesus, but it forms an integral part of the whole passage in which it stands. The very difficulties that beset the passage are evidence that it comes down from the primitive tradition, and enshrines one of the most certain as well as one of the most precious of the sayings of our Lord.

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William Arnold Stevens was born in Granville, Ohio, February 5, 1839. His father, John Stevens, of New England birth and education, a graduate of Middlebury College in 1821, emigrated in 1831 to what was then the far west of Ohio. His mother also was of New England birth, Mary Arnold of Charlestown, Mass. Serving from 1831 to 1838 as the editor of a religious paper in Cincinnati, John Stevens became in 1838 vice-president and professor of intellectual and moral philosophy in Granville College, now Denison University. When William was four years old his father returned to Cincinnati, entering again upon editorial work. Cincinnati in those days was an important center of the influences which were shaping the history of the Middle West, and the atmosphere of the Stevens home was calculated to develop in the mind of the children an interest in the making of history. An experience of five years in an extensive wholesale house in Cincinnati developed in William systematic business habits which characterized him throughout life. He graduated from Denison University in 1862 and spent the year 1862-63 as a student in Rochester Theological Seminary. Returning to his alma mater he filled the position of classical tutor from 1863 to 1865. During the years immediately following his college course he spent two summers on the battlefields of the South in the service of the Christian Commission. The three years from 1865 to 1868 were occupied in study at Harvard University and in Germany at Leipzig and Berlin. From 1868 to 1877 he was professor of the Greek language in Denison University, serving also during a portion of this period as acting president of the college. In 1877 he became Trevor professor of New Testament interpretation in the Rochester Theological Seminary. In 1881-82, accompanied by Mrs. Stevens, he made a journey to Palestine and Egypt. For this journey he had made previous careful preparation in the way of reading, and the

influence of it was manifest in all his subsequent work as a teacher of the Bible. He continued to fill the professorship at Rochester to the end of his life. He died at Rochester after a brief illness January 2, 1910.

In 1876 while professor at Granville he published an edition of selected *Orations of Lysias*. In 1887 he issued a *Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians*. Though the requirement of the series in which this work was published made it necessary that it should appear as a commentary on the English text, it embodied the results of scholarly study of the original Greek. In 1892 he joined with the author of this article in the publication of an *Outline Handbook of the Life of Christ* and of a *Harmony of the Gospels in English*. He received the Degree of D.D. from Denison University and of LL.D. from the University of Rochester.

Professor Stevens' father was a tall man of large frame, and in his later years, with his abundant white hair and beetling eyebrows and somewhat stern manners, was well calculated to inspire his students with something akin to awe. The son, however, inherited the physiognomy of his mother rather than of his father. Not tall, of slender figure, of quiet, gentle manners, he won the respect and affection of his pupils by the sterling qualities of mind and heart. Never of great physical vigor he accomplished the tasks which he set for himself and which his position demanded, by discreet economy of his strength and patient persistence in daily work.

This is distinctly the record of the life of a scholar and teacher. Yet to none of those who enjoyed the privilege of intimate association with Professor Stevens was he simply these. Colleagues, friends, and students admired and loved him for his qualities as man and Christian. He was never a recluse, concerned only for what was written in books, and lost in things that could be recorded in class records and examination reports, but a man of broad human sympathies and broad outlook on the world. Well equipped in the field of his own special studies, he was also well read in philosophy, history, and poetry, and had a fair acquaintance with modern science. To him scholarship served the ends of life, and he took a deep and active interest in the progress of Christianity throughout the world.

Of the qualities that made him a scholar, and at the same time

endeared him to his friends, none was more fundamental than his genuineness and sincerity. This quality expressed itself in his personal relations. Always friendly, he could also, when occasion required, speak honest words of disapproval, far more to be prized than flattery, of which he was never guilty. This quality of sincerity disclosed itself in his prayers. Those who listened to his words in the Seminary chapel, or in his classroom would doubtless all unite in saying that they never heard from his lips an "eloquent" prayer, or one that did not evidently express a real and immediately present thought. He believed in prayer as a veritable communion with the living God, and with reverence but with frankness spoke to God the thought and wish of his heart.

The quality of sincerity was eminently characteristic also of his scholarship. To him truth was a sacred thing to be sought for earnestly and dealt with honestly. He believed, as he often, said that ideas ruled the world, and he looked upon thinking as the most serious and responsible business that one can engage in, being nothing less than the effort to find the realities upon which men can safely build their lives and society its institutions.

Some things were indeed settled for him beyond dispute. He was by definite intention and in reality a progressive thinker. But it was his ideal to make progress not by a perpetual revision of former opinions and convictions, but on a firm foundation laid once for all to go on building story after story of the structure of his thought. These foundation-ideas and convictions, fixed in his earlier years, he often referred to in the latter half of his life as the postulates of his thinking; in the interest of steady progress he sought to avoid, if possible, the reconstruction of these. Among these primary convictions were the reality and personality of God; the distinction between the natural and the supernatural and the reality of the latter, especially as an element in the life of Jesus Christ; revelation as a fact of human experience in which God is the active power; Christianity as a historical religion based primarily not on ideas but on historic facts; the Christian church as a divinely ordained agency for the achievement of the will of God in the world. But these were only foundation stones, or, to change the figure, the first stages of the road which Christian scholarship had to travel. In the region

that lay beyond them, there were numberless problems of lexicography, of grammar, of interpretation, of history, and of theology, that called for investigation. In this region Professor Stevens exemplified with singular fidelity the open-mindedness of the investigative scholar. In 1905 he said to one of his students of later years, "It has been my first object to find the truth, not to harmonize it. The chief satisfaction of my intellectual life now is that having earlier followed the truth when lines seemed to diverge, I now find these lines converging." He expressly approved the method of biblical study commonly called scientific, even when he dissented from the results which some representatives of it reached by means of it.

Many of his students have testified in after years to the powerful and permanent influence that he exerted upon them, precisely by this quality of his mind as it reflected itself in his teaching. It was this indeed that, joined to the beautiful character of the man himself, gave him his power as a teacher. Meeting Rochester men in all parts of the world, I have been struck with the testimony which they have repeatedly, I might almost say uniformly, borne to the great and permanent influence that Professor Stevens exerted on their lives. And almost always they have spoken of just this quality in him as being that which influenced them, viz., the downright honesty and sincerity of his thinking; and more than one of them has said that this was the greatest thing he found at Rochester.

My relationship to Professor Stevens I count among the best things in my life. It would be unfair to him to hold him responsible for all the opinions I hold today. For among the many kindnesses he showed me I count none greater than the fact that he often told me with frank kindness that he thought the opinions and convictions that I felt obliged to hold were wrong, and sometimes that the decisions I felt obliged to make were unwise. But of all my teachers none has had so constant or on the whole so powerful an influence over me as he, and for none had I higher respect or deeper affection. Doubtless Professor Stevens had the experience of many another teacher: some of his pupils, even of those who most clearly recognized their debt to him, applied the method they gained from him in regions other than those in which he had taught them to use it, and rode, perhaps roughshod, over some of those convictions which to him were sacred boundaries

of thought. But none held him in higher respect and affection than these who through the influence of his teaching departed somewhat from it. Even he himself did not wholly escape the reflex action of his own scientific method, but in the latest years of his life re-examined the grounds of what he had for many years regarded as unchangeable elements of his thinking, not perhaps with the result of seriously modifying them, but of increasing that kindly tolerance which he had always maintained toward those who in the honest pursuance of the task of investigation had reached different results from his own.

A second quality of Professor Stevens' mind was his conscientious exactness. This sprang naturally from his sense of the value of truth. It was not enough for him to attain approximately accurate results. He wished to know the exact facts, whether in history, in grammar, in lexicography, or exegesis. If he was ever impatient it was with slovenly and inexact work.

It is perhaps but restating in another form what is already implied to add, as a third element that characterized him as scholar and teacher, that of reverence. He had a strong sense of the connection of the present with the past, and an immovable conviction that God is in that great historic movement of which our present is simply the most recent product and expression. This he held in a very special sense in respect to the Christian religion. To him this was not simply one of the great experiments of the human race in the attempt to relate itself to the Unseen Power. It was, as already implied, a revelation proceeding from God; and faith in Jesus Christ was something more and deeper than the philosophical conviction that there is meaning in the world and that that meaning is good.

Holding to this conception of Christianity and having always a broad outlook on human life, itself the product in part of his historic studies, he was deeply interested not only in the study of the Scriptures of this divinely revealed religion, but in its spread throughout the world. In spirit he was always a Christian missionary. Compelled himself to stay closely by his books and his classroom, he took an active interest in the pastoral and missionary work of those who had been his students, and in the progress of Christianity in all lands. He served for many years as the chairman of the

Board of Managers of the Foreign Missionary Society of his denomination.

Limited all his life by the limitations of his physical strength, less prolific as an author and less conspicuous outside his classroom than his abilities in other than physical respects fitted him to be, he yet admirably and beautifully combined the scholar of the study, the teacher in the classroom, the friend of his colleagues and pupils, the broad-visioned student both of the past and the present. He chose—who shall say unwisely?—to put his energy mainly into the tasks of the scholar and into the lives of his pupils, and many of these will always account his life and teaching as chief among the beneficial and formative influences of their lives.

JESUS' GALILEAN MINISTRY: THE PERIOD OF POPULARITY¹

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One's view of the synoptic problem must play a large part in determining his historical judgments in the life of Jesus. A theory of literary relationships gives the student a starting-point for his historical reconstruction of that life. The now practically assured result of many arduous years of literary criticism, that Matthew used Mark's Gospel in Greek, is itself big with consequences. Zahn differs from most modern scholars, in that he holds that Mark used Matthew's Gospel, but in this conclusion he now stands practically alone.

The comparison of Matthew with Mark and with Luke,² from this point of view, enables us historically to estimate Matthew's account of the Galilean ministry of Jesus in the period of popularity. We observe that Matthew has in general followed Mark's order, but that he has often preferred a topical arrangement to that which was in his source, and some deviations which are at first sight quite confusing, upon closer inspection become more intelligible. It is evident that in considerable portions Matthew has but re-edited the Gospel of Mark. Aside from the short accounts of three miracles given in 9:27-33 and 12:22, which offer peculiar difficulties, Matthew has added to Mark's account but one miracle, the healing of the centurion's servant, recorded also by Luke. Changes both in order and in fact appear to be mainly for literary and theological reasons. Such appear to be the duplications in the case of the demoniacs and of the blind men. Unless it be in some minor instances, as the substitution of Matthew for Levi in the list of the apostles, the

¹ This study covers the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for April 3, 10, 17, 24, and May 1.

² Allen, *International Critical Commentary* (on St. Matthew), has worked all this out with great detail.

writer of the First Gospel does not correct Mark's narrative from more authentic sources, so far as we can judge.

In one instance, however, Matthew may be historically right in his rearrangement of Markan material. We have seen that Mark begins to introduce the hostility of the scribes and Pharisees to Jesus as early as the second chapter, but that Matthew defers this feature. While Mark as compared with Matthew is chronological rather than topical, yet in Mark also there is evidence of topical grouping. It is likely that at first Jesus did not attract great attention from the scribes and Pharisees and they did not therefore seriously interfere with his work. Upon just such points as this the historian must pass judgment.

But it is also evident that Matthew frequently draws upon sources other than Mark. We cannot be sure that the discourses introduced by Matthew were spoken on the occasions specified. Luke often gives them in a different connection. In some instances Matthew appears to have built up longer discourses around brief ones given in Mark; such, for example, is the charge to the Twelve (Mark 6:7-13; Matt. 10:5-42). The appearance of many of these sayings in Luke suggests that Matthew compiled detached sayings into larger discourses, though it is possible that these discourses were in his sources. The presence of a passage also in Luke, its apparent originality, and its seeming freedom from later influences, often assure us of its antiquity and of its authenticity as a saying of Jesus. But beyond a certain point it is in some instances impossible to press. For example, in Matt. 11:27 there is a remarkable antithesis: the Son, the Father. It is found only here in this Gospel. Its occurrence in Luke carries it back to an earlier stage in the gospel tradition. The same usage occurs in Mark 13:32. When the historian attempts to push back farther, he finds the way uncertain.³

The cause of Jesus' popularity in Galilee is not difficult to discover. Matthew has suggested a helpful contrast between the content of his preaching in the earlier period and later. The early Galilean ministry was to the common people. It is introduced by Matthew in these words: "From that time began Jesus to preach and to say: Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (4:17). But later both the

³ See article by E. F. Scott, pp. 186-90.

content of his preaching and his auditors changed, as is indicated in the following: "From that time began Jesus to show his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer much from the elders and chief priests and scribes and be killed and be raised on the third day" (16:21). In reporting that Jesus began his ministry by the preaching of the kingdom Matthew is following Mark. He characteristically abbreviates Mark's fuller statement. According to Mark the message of Jesus was this: "The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe in the good news" (1:15).

To one acquainted with the Jewish literature of that day the meaning of these terms is unmistakable. It is the familiar language of apocalyptic. The proclamation was a startling one and constituted the man making it a revolutionist. It allied him with the radical elements and tendencies of the day. The time is fulfilled. A new epoch in history is about to be inaugurated. The end of the present age has come and the new age is about to begin. Behold, God is coming to his people, and this means vengeance for the wicked, sifting for Israel, and deliverance for the righteous. "The fulness of the time!" (Gal. 4:4). God has allotted out the ages; the measure of the present age is now full, and the messianic age is about to begin. The man who made this proclamation was in line with the older prophets, who announced the near advent of the day of Yahweh—a dreadful day of revolution, physical convulsion and upheaval, of judgment upon the sinful many and deliverance for the righteous few. Surely repentance was advisable in view of the approach of the messianic period.

We may bring ourselves to a faint realization of what such a proclamation must have meant by supposing that in some community untouched by the modern view of the world a preacher today should boldly and confidently announce that in view of the rumors of wars that now disturb the international situation, in view of the terrible earthquakes at San Francisco and Messina, and more especially in view of Halley's comet now appearing, the end of the world is at hand. On the social side a better analogy is the social revolution of modern radicals. A fundamental difference is that with the older prophets, to a less but considerable extent with the apocalyptists, with John the Baptist, with Jesus, and with his immediate followers, the interest

and emphasis were more on moral conditions and results than on economic prosperity. Another difference is that with them the kingdom was to come not by social evolution or revolution but by the direct intervention of God.

Just what the kingdom meant depended upon the persons who thought of it. Many and diverse hopes and fears clustered about these messianic terms. It seems that the masses of the people were intent upon the expulsion of the Roman power and consequent freedom from despotism and tax extortion. The legalist desired "righteousness," or perfect obedience to the law. In general we may say that the coming of the kingdom involved the restoration of Israel to national independence and power as under David, social prosperity and justice, an end to the suffering of the righteous, knowledge of God and the doing of his will. Spiritual people naturally dwelt more upon the spiritual blessings.

And Jesus had his own conception of the kingdom. Scholars are not agreed as to what that was, but certain features stand out markedly in the period we are studying. We know that he rejected the political feature of the popular hope. He refused to lend his influence to the party of the Zealots. From all symbols of hatred he turned away: the sword, violence, bloodshed. For him love was the power that held society together, and love must save it. By teaching the truth and by self-sacrifice, in trust and dependence on the Father, he would win the victory, or not at all. And yet we need not overlook the fact that he was crucified partly because the Sadducees and Pilate thought that they discerned in him danger of political disturbance. He is reported to have called Herod, his ruler, "that fox" (Luke 13:32).

In the second place, Jesus' conception of the kingdom is in marked contrast with that of John the Baptist. Matthew has taken this message ascribed to Jesus in Mark 1:15 and attributed it to the Baptist: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (3:2), where Mark has: "Preaching a baptism of repentance unto forgiveness of sins" (1:4). But Matthew has with good reason made an important omission: it is the feature of the Lord's preaching which constituted it good news, and which was wanting in the message of the Baptist. According to Matthew's account John warned the people of the coming wrath, the flames of judgment, called the professional religionists

who came to him an offspring of vipers, told the people that only repentance could save them in the coming judgment, that the Messiah was already at hand, would lay the axe at the root of the tree and with his fan thoroughly cleanse his threshing-floor, gathering the wheat into the garner but winnowing out the chaff to burn it with unquenchable fire. John came to his martyrdom because, according to our gospels, he denounced the immorality of his ruler, Herod Antipas, or, according to Josephus, because Herod feared a revolutionary rising on account of John's influence over the people. Now Jesus was called forth from the seclusion of Nazareth by the Baptist's movement, and he cordially placed himself in line with it. He championed the cause of John the Baptist and paid him a high tribute. But that did not blind him to the difference between his own message and mission and the work of John. When from the castle of Machaerus, where John was given liberty of communication with his disciples, he sent to Jesus for an explanation of the divergence between his own and the popular messianic expectation on the one hand, and on the other the character of Jesus' work, our Lord appreciated the strain that was being put upon both the faith of John and that of his own disciples. The difference between himself and John extended even to their personal habits and manner of life, as Jesus publicly recognized: John was an ascetic, while Jesus was affable, genial, and sociable.

In the third place, the kingdom was for Jesus human and universal instead of national. We do not forget that our gospels arose on the Gentile field, when the church was conscious of her missionary responsibilities, and accordingly we shall be on our guard against ascribing to Jesus all of the marks of the larger outlook. His mission was to his own people. But the kernel of his message and work is universal. His teaching concerning God the heavenly Father, concerning man and sin, concerning heart-purity and love and service, parables like those of the Prodigal Son and of the Good Samaritan, are universal in scope. On strictly critical grounds we refrain from ascribing to Jesus certain sayings looking in another direction, recorded in Matthew's Gospel. And finally, while it seems best to regard the kingdom as essentially future, in the thought of Jesus, it would appear, the beginnings were already present (Matt. 12:28; Luke 17:21).

Mark 1:15 probably gives a general summary of Jesus' message instead of the specific terms in which it was delivered, but it is certain that his message revolved more or less about the kingdom of God. We have seen how the news that the kingdom was at hand must have powerfully stirred the emotions and imaginations of the people. What it meant to the common people is suggested by the beautiful messianic hymns found in the first and second chapters of Luke.

He showed strength with his arm;
He scattered the proud in the thought of their heart;
He put down princes from thrones and exalted the lowly;
The hungry he filled with good things,
And the rich he sent away empty (Luke 1:51-53).

The words of Jesus fell as sweet music upon the ears of the people. It was as though the psalmist had again taken up his harp.

Blessed are you poor, For yours is the kingdom of God.
Blessed are you that hunger now, For you shall be filled.
Blessed are you that weep now, For you shall laugh (Luke 6:20, 21).

These terms, with both their economic and religious significance, breathe the very atmosphere of the Psalms; we are carried back to the time when the poor and needy were oppressed by the rich and powerful, and when accordingly the poor people were identified in thought with the pious of the land. Downtrodden by the haughty and ungodly, they felt the need of God's help and were the special objects of his favor. While Luke has probably preserved the form of our Lord's words, Matthew has more accurately represented the Semitic idiom.

Despised by the Pharisees, the unlearned common people rejoiced to hear that so great blessings were theirs, that technical learning was not essential, but open-mindedness and childlikeness were. The blessings of the kingdom were for the gentle and teachable, and not for the violent, dogmatic, self-asserting people. Hence the rigid, orthodox Jews failed to appreciate and bitterly resented his teaching, and Mark's suggestion that very early he attracted their suspicion and enmity is not altogether unlikely. That he made upon his disciples stern ethical demands would not at first militate against his popularity with the masses; in its first stages the people like that sort of thing, and worship a brave man and a hero. In him they saw with admiring

delight one whose inward sense of dignity and authority made him superior to their scribes and to ancient prophet and lawgiver.

But it was not only the music of the Psalms that was heard; there were also heard those majestic strains that sound and resound through the second portion of the Book of Isaiah, so grandly interpreted in modern times by Handel:

Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.
Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem,
And cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished,
That her iniquity is pardoned,
That she hath received of Jehovah's hand double for all
her sins (Isa. 40:1, 2).

Jesus brought redemption to the people. That he wrought cures there can be no doubt. When the people were groaning beneath the heavy burdens laid upon them by their religious teachers, he summoned them to him for rest. He called them to a life of sincerity, ethical freedom, and trust in God. He set forth his own conception of his mission in the language of Isa. 61:1, 2, and replied to the question of the Baptist in the words of Isa. 35:5, 6. To the poor good news was preached, and it seemed to them that the acceptable year of the Lord had come.

Book Reviews

Authority in Religion. By REV. J. H. LECKIE. Edinburgh: Clark, 1909. Pp. x+238. \$2.00.

The subject of this book is timely. The author has read widely and thought to good purpose. His views are in the main moderate and reasonable and the reading of his book ought to contribute to clearness of thought upon the part of many who are now in perplexity.

The general positions of the book may be summed up briefly as follows: Authority is "a power not self-produced which rules belief or conduct." Authority is real. Liberty is real. Our problem is not to get rid of either but to adjust these two facts to one another. Authority is a relative term. It does not carry with it the idea of infallibility. It demands respect and consideration, not necessarily and always obedience. Distinction must be made between the source and the organ of authority. The only source is God. The ultimate organ is the soul in communion with God—the soul to whom God reveals the truth. Every human soul is then potentially a medium of revelation and an organ of authority. But not all souls are equally such. The method of God is aristocratic. To the few great souls he reveals himself with special clearness and fulness, and these then become authorities, i. e., organs of authority, to the multitude. But the community of the devout, each member of which is in his lesser measure an organ of authority, is as a community an important rival or corroborator of the prophet in the sphere of authority. And to that end the individual himself, in his measure an authority and endowed with liberty, stands over against these other greater authorities, bound to give heed to their voice, but bound also to be true to the voice of authority speaking in his own soul. For who can say that he too is not a prophet? The sinlessness of Jesus added to his own consciousness of authority gives to him a unique position. He is, though not in every sense yet in a true sense, an absolute authority. The church, though often wrong, is yet for the individual only less authoritative than the Christ. This authority pertains primarily indeed rather to the facts of religious experience than to the dogmas which have been formulated as interpretations of these facts. Yet in respect to the great dogmas of the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, the Reconciliation through Christ, the Remission of Sins, and the Resurrection from the

dead, it is impossible that they should have survived the stress and strain of all the generations, had they not been peculiarly fitted to express and defend the substance of faith.

There are some notable features in this treatment of the subject. Miracles are never mentioned in the book. The whole argument for religious authority based on deeds of power is simply ignored. Have we indeed entered the new era in this respect? The relativity of authority is expressly and admirably set forth. These two facts signify more than possibly even the author himself recognizes. With the surrender of the notion that authority is attested by a deed in itself having no relation to the message but only authenticating the messenger, and with the recognition of the distinction between authority and infallibility, the soul of the individual becomes the final arbiter for its own beliefs and conduct; in duty bound indeed to give earnest heed to the voice of prophet and of church, but not less to keep for itself the seat of the judge, and to recognize the similar right and duty of every soul. The whole discussion is notable too for its judicial recognition of both sides of the case and its preference for a reasonable middle ground rather than either extreme.

Nevertheless the book has its limitations. To confine the discussion to authority in religion, leaving on one side the authority of the state, society, and the home in matters non-religious, was quite within the author's right. He was likewise within his right in addressing his discussion to the theist only; but he thereby materially diminished the value of the book, for to many a sober and religious-minded man the most serious problem in the realm of authority is just this: Is there a self-revealing God whose will I may know and so come under its authority? And when the author defends this limitation by the statement, "We take for granted the belief in God, for without that belief the question of religious authority does not emerge," he falls into a palpable fallacy. Is not the existence of a thing a part of the question concerning it?

But the author imposes upon his discussion another limitation which he does not mention and is perhaps not aware of. Though citing Mohammed and Buddha among the prophets, real bearers of revelation, his discussion as a whole bounds itself by the horizon of the Hebrew and Christian revelation. Admitting the Pauline contention that God is one, he yet, like Paul himself, falls short of making a thoroughgoing application of it. His defense of the authority of the church we can but believe would not have been carried to the length to which he carries it if he had kept in mind what he in fact recognizes, that God has been as really present, even if not as fully apprehended, among other nations both ancient and

modern as in those who have been the recipients of the Hebrew and Christian revelation.

Moreover, even the very idea of authority itself despite seeming care and exactness in definition is left somewhat hazy. "Authority," the author says, "is a power not self-produced, which rules belief or conduct" (p. 2). This definition, he claims, applies to all kinds of authority, whether of the state, the church, the book, or mystical experience, adding, that "it is ever the confession of the saints that they do not find the truth, but the truth them." Later (pp. 98, 99) he says "Religious authority is found wherever conviction arises in the soul such as to carry with it the assurance that it is of God. This conviction may be created in three ways: (1) by direct revelation to the individual conscience in which it is found, (2) or by a message conveyed to that conscience through a specially endowed soul, and recognized by it as true, (3) or by a deliverance of the common religious consciousness, verified in the individual experience," and adds, that "there is no real test of truth except experience." Again he says (p. 135), "By the authority of the church is meant (in harmony with the whole principle of this essay) not its executive power or its right to coerce the conscience, but the constraining weight of its religious witness." These later statements apparently qualify and interpret the original definition. By "rules" the author apparently means "has the right to rule." He evidently does not mean to ascribe authority to that which actually though wrongfully controls, or to deny it to that which though having the right to control is resisted. But furthermore "rule" must, in view of his definition of the authority of the church, mean not "control," but "demand consideration." Even the expression "not self-originated" must, in consistency with the author's later statements, be interpreted as not applying to the conviction or command to which the individual yields, for this must not only be tested by individual experience, but may originate in such experience. What the phrase really expresses is the author's conviction that back of every authoritative conviction or command there lies a personality other than that of him to whom it is authoritative. Does he mean this in the experimental sense? Must the scientist recognize an authority other than that of its truth before a proposition becomes authoritative? Must the community in a democracy recognize in its own law the voice of God in order to recognize its authority? Has conscience no authority except for the conscious theist? Who vouches for the theistic judgment itself? There seems to be some lack of clear thinking here. There is a similar lack in respect to the important distinction between conduct and belief as related to authority. The parent has the right to control the conduct of

his child; has he the same right in respect to his belief? How is it with the state and the church? This distinction recognized in the definition is thereafter scarcely referred to. In consequence the argument suffers in clearness and cogency, tending on the one hand to a possible underestimate of authority in respect to conduct and on the other to an overestimate in respect to belief.

Despite these defects of the book it is a valuable contribution to the subject and in the main calculated to influence thinking in the right direction.

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The Gospel of Reconciliation or At-one-ment. By W. C. WALKER. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. vi+245 pages. \$2.00.

Through his recent book, *The Gospel of Reconciliation, or At-one-ment*, Rev. W. C. Walker of Glasgow has laid the Christian world under renewed obligation.

To those familiar with his earlier books: *The Spirit and the Incarnation*, and *The Cross and the Kingdom*, the title of the new work will give rise to the question as to what it contains that is new. A close reading of the other books will disclose that much that is in the new book is in the others, at least in germ. Wherein then lies the justification for the new book?

It is not merely an expansion of germinal ideas found in the other books. Mr. Walker feels that "the present outlook in a large portion of Christendom is 'most ominous'" and doubts if the churches are faithful to Christ and "His Gospel of God." Modern evangelism, he feels, is in danger of falling into legalism, and of veiling the free, universal, unconditional forthgoing of divine grace by preaching conditions of acceptance with God utterly foreign to his uncorrupted gospel. He therefore tasks himself to bring the Gospel of Reconciliation to its proper place in the mind of the church.

What is the Gospel of Reconciliation? It is not merely that God forgives all who in contrition seek to leave their sin and amend their lives. The prophetism of the Old Testament proclaimed this. The Gospel of Reconciliation in Christ came as a new, freshly creative, personal force into the world. It is the simple message of the holy God and father who cannot wait until his wandering children return, but who in the urgent necessity of holy love must go forth to cause their return and bring them into at-one-ment with himself. The whole experience of Christ represents

not a movement of man toward God but a coercive movement of God toward man. The Gospel of Reconciliation is the universal, "rich, free, unconditional gospel of God's love." It is the message of God's love in action, operating for the redemption of all mankind. "The divine forgiveness goes forth to men, not because of the Cross; on the contrary, the Cross came to Christ because God was forgiving men. Instead of forgiveness being grounded on the Cross, the Cross is grounded on the forgiving love of God."

This is the kernel of the book, the essential, abiding, evangelical doctrine of reconciliation, the unrestricted preaching of which the author believes would save the world. But what about Christ's death? Christ met his death in the fulfilment of his vocation as the representative of humanity and in utter obedience to God's will in a world dominated by self-love. All ideas, therefore, of "expiation" and "atonement to God" as well as of arbitrary and externally inflicted penalty are foreign to the discussion. The death of Christ has a "judicial" as well as an ethical aspect. Indeed the latter is grounded on the former and the two grade into one. But all that came to Christ in the way of suffering came to him as the representative of humanity in the sequence of the divine moral order, and what he suffered was the desert of human sin which is self-punitive in its working. The Gospel of Reconciliation comes through the Cross, but the Cross does not add to the teaching and testimony of Jesus. It is the final witness of God's righteousness and God's love, and the paramount means by which the forgiving God comes to men in reconciling love, for God was immanent in Christ. The Cross manifests the self-destructive nature of self-love, exhibits the completeness of God's opposition to sin, and visualizes the unceasing urgency of God's love. All this is instructively and illuminatingly brought out in chapters headed: "Christ Made Sin for Us," "How Christ Bore Our Sins," "Christ and the Race: the Head of Humanity," and in the general consideration of Paul's doctrine which is shown to be substantially concordant with the teachings and life-work of Jesus.

Only one chapter is devoted to the social aspect of the gospel, and this we feel to be less convincing than it might be. The gospel is designed to perfect the social organism and many of its social bearings are described but what is said seems to be in the air for lack of any definite and clear recognition of the radically social nature of the individual. The hope of collective redemption is made to depend upon the redemption of the individual, but no adequate emphasis is laid in the book upon his essential social nature as the key to social salvation. The kingdom of God is based on the idea of society which you cannot have apart from beings whose

ground nature is social, a fact which both Plato and Aristotle recognized, and which is made emphatic throughout the sacramental and dynamic unity and uniformity of divine revelation. If the cry for a social gospel is to be satisfied it must be shown that the gospel fits into the folds of our essentially social nature and is qualified to bring us to our richest promise and fullest expression of power as members of the social organism. That this is true the concentration of Christ's earthly ministry makes manifest. Mr. Walker has this in mind throughout the book, and it pervades this particular chapter, but it nowhere ascends to that distinctness required to satisfy the call of our modern specialized social sense for a social gospel.

CHICAGO

J. J. MARTIN

Ezra Studies. By CHARLES C. TORREY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910. xv+346 pages. \$1.50.

The nine chapters of this book are devoted to the consideration of the following topics: I, "Portions of First Esdras and Nehemiah in the Syro-Hexaplar Version"; II, "The Nature and Origin of First Esdras"; III, "The Story of the Three Youths"; IV, "The Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah"; V, "The First Chapter of Ezra in Its Original Form and Setting"; VI, "The Aramaic Portions of Ezra"; VII, "The Chronicler as Editor and as Independent Narrator"; VIII, "The Ezra Story in Its Original Sequence"; IX, "The Exile and the Restoration."

The book is one which makes its appeal to scholars. It is distinctly above the range of the average man. Professor Torrey has the rare capacity of detaching himself wholly from preconceived and prevalent views with reference to a piece of literature and so formulating his own view with entire independence. The positions assumed in this book are not wholly new, since they were in large part expressed by Professor Torrey in his earlier work, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (1896). This earlier work has not received the attention that its author thinks it deserves; hence he has returned to the consideration of the subject in the present volume and has sought to make his propositions so compelling that scholars must give heed to them, even if they do not accept them. It is perfectly safe to say that in this purpose he has succeeded. No scholar hereafter can do any creditable work upon Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah without taking full account of the labors of Professor Torrey.

It is not likely that some of the positions here taken will find many

defenders, at least for the present. On the other hand, all scholars will be grateful to the author for some contributions made in this volume. For example, he has here for the first time published the Syro-Hexaplar text of a series of extracts from Nehemiah, viz., 1:1-4a, 2:1-8; 4:1-3, 10:16; 6:15-16; 7:73b-8:18; 9:1-3.¹

To the present reviewer it also seems certain that Professor Torrey's original order of the materials in the first and second chapters of Ezra is correct, namely, Ezra 1:11+1 Esdras 4:47-56+1 Esdras 4:62-5:6+ Ezra 2:1 ff., Ezra 4:43-47a and vss. 57-61 being interpolations. Still further, Professor Torrey is certainly in the right in following those scholars who maintain that Theodotion was the author of the translation of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah now incorporated in the Septuagint. He has furnished much new material in support of this position.

When, however, the author proceeds to discount the historical character of the whole of Ezra and a large part of Nehemiah we must hesitate. From Professor Torrey's point of view the Chronicler becomes the writer of a historical novel with a religious purpose. The emphasis here is on the words "novel" and "religious" and not at all on the adjective "historical." The Chronicler is blessed with a rich and fertile imagination, according to Professor Torrey, and he does not hesitate to use it at every opportunity. He has accordingly fabricated large sections of material including, for example, all the Aramaic documents, for the purpose of making good his point of view. Scholars have, of course, long recognized the imaginative character of much of the Chronicler's work; but they have regarded it for the most part as confined to the exaggeration of given facts and conditions and have not credited him with either the will or the power to create his facts *ex nihilo*.

The defenders of the essential historicity of the Chronicler's narrative will find that Professor Torrey's work will necessitate a thorough reconsideration of many important questions which can no longer be ignored. From that point of view, whatever may be the outcome as to the particular questions raised by this volume, it is certain that in general a truer understanding of the character of the Chronicler's work must inevitably result.

¹ It is interesting to observe that John Gwynn in his *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible* (1909) publishes the same text with the mistaken idea that his is the first publication. As a matter of fact, Torrey's edition of the text was published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* as far back as October, 1906. The first, second, third, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters of the present book are all reprints from that *Journal*, while chap. iv was published in the second volume of the *Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (1908). The last chapter is the only one that appears for the first time in this volume.

A detailed consideration of the problems under discussion in this work is out of the question in a popular journal like the *Biblical World*, but all who are interested in this kind of problem may rest assured that they will be amply rewarded for their time, trouble, and expense should they purchase and read this book.

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Sixty Years with the Bible. By WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE.
New York: Scribner, 1909. 259 pages. \$1.25.

The title of the book at once arrests attention. Sixty years is a long working lifetime, and rapid change, compelling serious transitions in thought and activity, has been the programme for the last six decades. In the beginning of the period Darwin, Ritschl, and Kuenen had not commenced their revolutionary work. The natural sciences were scarcely born. The reign of external authority was in theology all but unquestioned. At the end of the period, the fact of evolution is paramount. Everywhere archaeology has been the handmaid of biblical criticism, and old systems and time-honored interpretations are sadly out of countenance. The biological and psychological laboratories are peering into new worlds. They have provided much food for reflection, and are slowly compelling theology to adopt at least a new vocabulary. And these sixty years with their dower of growth and pain, have all converged on the Bible. How has the book of our fathers met the enlarging horizon, the keener scrutiny, and the more imperious demands? Our ears are open to anyone who undertakes to tell us the story out of his personal experience. But Professor Clarke, apart from his subject, has a claim upon us. The charm of his pen, the candor of his mind, not more than the deep reverence with which he always approaches his task, have a large place in many hearts.

The book is what its title suggests. It is the story of the intellectual and spiritual history of the author, as related to the Bible. It is a story of change. In his own winning way he leads us through the decades with utmost frankness. Brought up in the home of a pastor, the Bible was in constant and loving use. But even at the family fireside, the principle of selection was wisely in operation. Chronological and difficult passages were omitted in family worship. As a boy the pastor's son had to face, from his schoolmates, questions concerning the accuracy of the Bible, to which the commentaries gave no answer.

In his theological course he gave himself unstintedly to Bible study.

He became familiar with the value of textual criticism and largely mastered the currents of thought, especially in the New Testament books. In his first pastorate, contact with literalists, the back-wash of the Millerite movement, and a study in Spencer were potent factors in leading him to recognize that the Bible was a genuinely historical book and must be so interpreted.

In the 70's a pastorate in the proximity of a theological seminary, the delightful companionship of alert biblical scholarship, and more elaborate study of the Scriptures than heretofore matured conceptions which had long been germinal in his mind. If mutually exclusive doctrines could be equally well defended from the Scripture, then it could not be an infallible book throughout. Thus the Bible was not so much a sourcebook for infallible information, preserved in the convenient form of proof-texts, as an inspiration in his apprehension of the great salvation of God. In the spirit of freedom he realized that "the Bible was made for man, not man for the Bible."

The following decade led to yet deeper study. A change of pastorate was fruitful of readjustment. The writing of a commentary shook his confidence in the possibility of completely harmonizing certain gospel narratives. A few years of teaching the New Testament in a seminary contributed its quota. Both perfect translation of a book and perfect interpretation of any author were recognized as impossible. As human language could never be unambiguous in all its statements, for all interpreters, we could never claim infallibility for the statements in the Bible. Forced to acknowledge this and freed from the bondage of the letter, yet the "book remains a divine gift and a perpetual inspiration," in which the great eternal verities and the central Person "can be understood as well as it is needed that they be understood."

In the last decade of the last century the author came to the crown of his Christian ministry, viz., the chair of systematic theology. His method of using the Bible in this field is known to all. While welcoming truth from any and every source, while feeling free to criticize inadequate biblical conceptions, the Scripture in its lofty ideals and great currents has constituted the chief source and inspiration of his work.

In sixty years the author has traveled far. But there are no hasty movements. New attitudes were adopted very slowly by this essentially conservative scholar. Evidence must thrust him forward before he advances. Nor is it inexorable logic alone which compels his decisions. Ever the nobler and higher conceptions of life and of God beckon him onward to freedom. With this growing liberty, the Book is ever becoming more

vital to his thinking and glows with a growing splendor through each succeeding decade. The calm certainties, the deep spiritualities of every page are the convincing argument that the pathway is one of progress. To those who have traveled over a similar way, the book comes as a great delight. To those who are now in the struggle, few books will be more reassuring. To all of this generation who read it carefully, the book, with its spiritual uplift, can scarcely fail to be of some real help.

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New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS

TORREY, C. C. *Ezra Studies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910.
Pp. xv+346. \$1.50.

If the positions taken in this book be correct, they will make it necessary for most of us to revise completely our conceptions of the course of events in Palestine from the fall of Babylon in 538 B. C. to the coming of Alexander in 333 B. C. The Chronicler is here represented as the writer of a religious history in which adherence to facts played little part. The dominant things in his work are his vivid imagination and his religious bias. The book will necessitate a fresh study of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, for no defense of the essentially historical character of these books can afford to disregard Professor Torrey's studies. Whatever may be thought as to the historical and literary positions of the author, he must at least be given credit for some excellent textual work.

DAVIES, T. WITTON. *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*. Introduction, Revised Version, with Notes, Maps, and Index. [The Century Bible.] Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1909. Pp. 384. 2s. 6d.

This is the best popular English commentary on these books in existence. The attitude taken is on the whole one of confidence in the biblical text as it stands. Yet the opinions of scholars of contrary view, like Kusters, Torrey, Buhl, and Van Hoonacker, are given due consideration.

WIENER, H. M. *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*. Oberlin: Bibliotheca Sacra Co., 1909. Pp. 239. \$1.50.

A reprint of six articles from the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of last year. They are heralded as "the most damaging indictment of the Higher Criticism that has ever been made." But criticism will survive.

KAUTZSCH, E. *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*. 3d ed., Part 16. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1909. Pp. 64. M. 0.80.

This constitutes the first instalment of Vol. II. The Minor Prophets are here taken up and progress is made as far as Habakkuk. The commentators are Guthe, Marti, and Kautzsch. The liberty exercised in this third edition in the realms of both textual and higher criticism is a marked advance upon the second edition.

ARTICLES

DAY, E. Is the Book of Hosea Exilic? *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, January, 1910. Pp. 105-32.

This question is answered in the affirmative, but the grounds alleged as basis for this view will hardly convince many.

BREASTED, J. H. The Earliest Social Prophet. *American Journal of Theology* January, 1910. Pp. 114-16.

This is a critical note setting forth the character and significance of a very important Egyptian narrative which exhibits features analogous to Hebrew prophecy, though centuries earlier than the first of the prophets of Israel.

DE LONG, I. H. The Importance of the Study of Hebrew in a Theological Course. *The Reformed Church Review*, January, 1910. Pp. 1-27.

The inaugural address of the new professor of Hebrew and Old Testament science in the Theological Seminary at Lancaster, Pa. It is a very good presentation of the theory that all candidates for the ministry should be required to study Hebrew.

RIESZLER, P. Wann wirkte Nehemias? *Theologische Quartalschrift*, January, 1910. Pp. 1-6.

An attempt to show that the Assuan papyri contribute nothing toward the settlement of the date of Nehemiah. The method of proof is that of positing a Babylonian form *šangu-uballaš* as the original of Sanaballat and then concluding that this name was not personal, but only an official title which might be borne by successive officers, and thus cannot be an evidence of date.

LOISY, ALFRED. La notion du sacrifice dans l'antiquité israélite. *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, January, 1910. Pp. 1-30.

An interesting résumé of the history of sacrifice in Israel from the point of view of its psychological significance. The author rightly sees that the meaning of the rite was not always the same, but changed with differing occasions and times.

NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS

ANDERSON, EDWARD E. The Gospel According to St. Matthew. With Introduction and Notes. [Handbooks for Bible Classes.] Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. Pp. xxi+243. \$0.75.

Mr. Anderson holds that the First Gospel was written between 75 and 90 A. D., both the Gospel of Mark and Matthew's Sayings of the Lord being embodied in it. The introduction and comments are intelligent and discriminating, and the handbook should be very useful to students and pastors.

HAWKINS, JOHN C. Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem. 2d ed., revised and supplemented. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. Pp. xvi+223. 10s. 6d. net.

Horae Synopticae is a compact, discriminating, and unbiased presentation of the chief resemblances and differences of the Synoptic Gospels. In this new edition, it is more than ever useful to students of the gospels, and especially of the synoptic problem.

ALEXANDER, GROSS. The Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians. [The Bible for Home and School.] New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. vii+132. \$0.50 net.

Dr. Alexander has given us in small compass a spirited and sympathetic commentary on Colossians and Ephesians. He connects them with Paul's Roman imprisonment, A. D. 62-63, and regards Ephesians as a circular letter intended for the churches of Asia. The positions are in general conservative.

REGNAULT, HENRI. Une province procuratorienne au début de l'Empire Romain: Le Procès de Jésus-Christ. Paris: Picard, 1909. Pp. 144. Fr. 4.

A study of the financial, military, administrative, and judicial organization of Judea in New Testament times, with especial reference to the trial of Jesus.

STEINMANN, ALPHONS. Aretas IV, König der Nabatäer, Eine historisch-exegetische Studie zu 2 Cor. 11:32 f. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1909. Pp. 44.

Dr. Steinmann presents evidence tending to show that Aretas IV, king of the Nabataeans of Arabia, secured possession of Damascus in 37 A. D. by a grant of the Emperor Gaius. Aretas died in 40 A. D. In the interval, the Arab governor who represented him was stirred up by the Jews against Paul. Paul's conversion, Steinmann concludes, must thus have fallen between 34 and 37 A. D.

ARTICLES

BACON, B. W. Notes on Gospel Chronology. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXVIII, 2. Pp. 130-48.

A careful collection and criticism of primitive and patristic evidence as to the birth, ministry, and death of Jesus, brings Professor Bacon to the important conclusion that A. D. 33 or 34 is astronomically the most probable date for Jesus' death; that his ministry was probably about two years in length, and that his birth fell about 8 B. C. His life would thus be much longer than has generally been supposed.

ROPES, JAMES H. The Text of the Epistle of James. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-29.

Professor Ropes has subjected the text of James to a critical examination, and presents some conclusions of his study. Vaticanus and the Old Latin Corbeiensis (ninth century) prove to be the best witnesses for the text. This discussion and evaluation of the manuscripts and versions of James, form a significant contribution to New Testament textual study.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

HASTINGS, JAMES (editor). *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Vol. II. New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. xxii+901. \$7.

This great volume well sustains the high level established by its predecessor. It begins with Arthur and ends with Bunyan. The scope of its contents is marvelous. For Bible students the two most important articles are Professor Sanday's "Bible" and Professor Dobschütz's "Bible in the Church." Every good library must secure this encyclopedia.

LEUBA, J. H. *The Psychological Origin and Nature of Religion*. [Religions Ancient and Modern.] Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. 95. \$0.40.

A very clear and sane statement of a difficult subject. It brings the important themes it discusses well within the range and time of any educated man.

NAVILLE, EDOUARD. *The Old Egyptian Faith*. [Crown Theological Library.] New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909. Pp. xx+321. \$1.25.

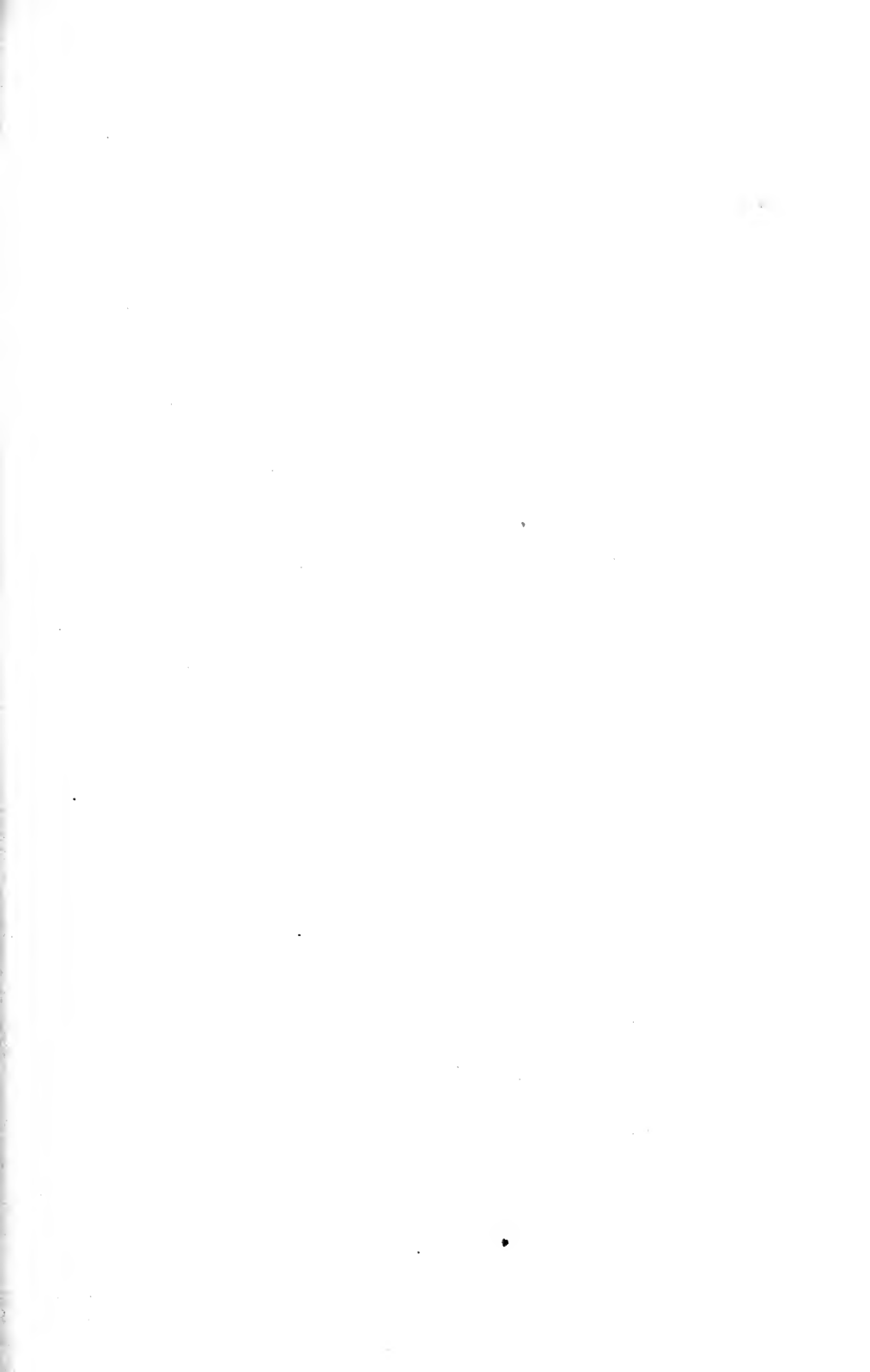
A popular handbook on the religion of the Egyptians by one who has long been a leader in the French school of Egyptologists. With this volume and that by Erman in his possession, the average man can obtain a fairly complete and satisfactory understanding of the subject.

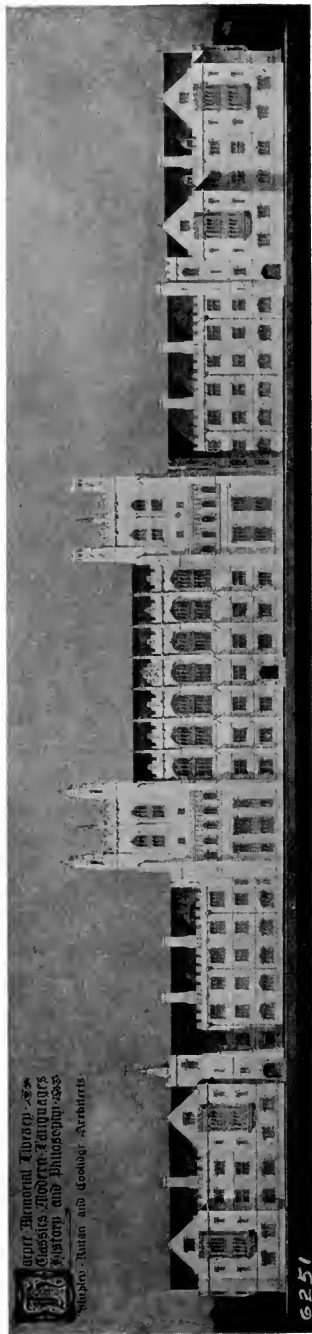
DE GROOT, J. J. M. *The Religion of the Chinese*. [The Hartford-Lamson Lectures on the Religions of the World.] New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. vii+230. \$1.25.

A series of lectures delivered before Hartford Theological Seminary by the author who is second to none as an authority upon China and the Chinese. The purpose of the series is to furnish candidates for the ministry in general and the mission field in particular such information as they need for a successful approach to the task of converting the followers of other religions to Christianity. This volume will well repay reading to those interested in practical missionary activities as well as those whose interest is rather that of the student.

ELLIS, W. T. *Men and Missions*. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1909. Pp. 315. \$1.

A well-written little book by a practical man who has secured a fairly full and accurate knowledge of missions as they are and would help put them where they ought to be. The average layman may learn much from it.





THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO: THE HARPER MEMORIAL LIBRARY AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS OF THE
 LIBRARY GROUP. SOUTH FAÇADE

The central portion of the buildings here shown, consisting of the two towers and the structure between them, constitutes the Harper Memorial Library now under process of erection. The group will be completed at some future time by the erection of the buildings to the east of the east tower which are to be devoted to History and Philosophy, and the buildings to the west of the west tower which will be given to the Modern Languages and the Classical Languages. The group includes other buildings not shown in this view; thus the Law Building, already erected, stands northward from the right-hand tower, the Haskell Oriental Museum northward from the left-hand tower.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXV

APRIL, 1910

NUMBER 4

Editorial

TRUTH "ONCE FOR ALL DELIVERED" OR A LIVING THEOLOGY

"The church is not an institution for the discovery of truth, but a body for the preservation and dissemination of truth once for all delivered." This sentence of a recent writer expresses with admirable clearness and conciseness a widely held view of the relation of the church to the discovery and dissemination of truth. It draws a sharp line in human history near the end of the first Christian century. Previous to this the full truth was not yet possessed. Since then we have it in the Scriptures. There was progress in revelation in the pre-Christian ages, and in the first century; it is only since the close of the New Testament period that addition to truth has ceased, and progress is limited to the interpretation of the oracles, in themselves complete.

This view is of course not new. It is found for substance in the Christian writers of the second century. Qualified in the Roman church by the doctrine of the authority of the church, in Protestantism often denied in practice by those who hold it in theory, in recent years consciously qualified by many who have hoped by such qualification to save the substance of the view, it has yet, subject to these limitations, held sway over the mind of Christendom for centuries. Especially has it been dominant in the Protestantism that dates from the days of Luther and Calvin.

That this view has prevailed throughout the Christian centuries is itself a fact to be accounted for. That the Bible has occupied during all this period a unique place in the literature of the Christian nations is not an accident but argues very exceptional value in the books that compose it. If later generations had produced other

books that were worthy to stand alongside these, or to take a place above them, why should they not have achieved this position? The dangerous heresies of the ages have not been derived from the Bible but have arisen through departure from its teaching. But higher even than the authority of the Bible is that of Jesus. Even if literary criticism succeeds in showing that some of the utterances which the gospels ascribe to him are unsustained by the test of subsequent history, and that we must therefore choose between admitting error in the record and acknowledging limitation of horizon involving error in thought on his part, yet this does not change the fact that to Jesus we owe a statement of the fundamental principles of religion and morality which silences adverse criticism and calls simply for such realization in personal and social life as we may by our best efforts achieve. Here at least we have a revelation of truth which we not only have not surpassed but which it seems impossible that we ever should surpass.

On the other hand there is today an increasing number of Christian men who, agreeing with the Prologue of the Gospel of John that God is essentially self-revealing, believe that discovery of religious truth, however unequal in different periods, has no limits of time or nation. God's ways with men have been essentially unchanged throughout the ages. History has not been one level plain either in all countries or in all ages. Not every land has had its Isaiah, nor every age its Christ. But in no realm of thought has the discovery of truth been the peculiar privilege of any age or people. It began when men began to think; it has gone on, by addition and by subtraction, from the earliest dawn of human thought till the present hour, and will go on while the race lasts. It has had its mountain peaks, and its valleys, its periods of rapid progress, its days of recession, but never of total stagnation.

This view emphasizes the unity of truth, and the necessary interrelation of truth in different realms. It recognizes no absolute line of demarcation between religious and secular truth. Scientific truth being confessedly a matter of discovery involving progress and change, and truth in this realm having important relations to the truths of religion, it is impossible to think of theology as remaining stable in the midst of the rushing stream of scientific thought, or to

believe that its method is radically different from that of other departments of knowledge. Geology modifies our conception of God, psychology our notion of the human soul, sociology our ideas of human society, and history our notions of right and wrong. This is not only inevitable, it is right. The whole world is God's, all truth is truth, and it is as wrong as it is impossible to shut our minds to the inflow of new evidence and knowledge.

From this point of view every effort that has been made by church or state to anchor theological thought and fasten the view of one generation upon the mind of succeeding generations has been a mistake. The progress that, despite many setbacks, characterized the biblical period ought never to have been arrested. The canonization of Scripture in the second century was perhaps a necessary check upon a too rashly speculative tendency. But its acceptance by subsequent centuries as marking the end of the period of revelation and the point beyond which no progress in religious thought was possible, save in the interpretation of the books already written and the formulation of the results of such interpretation, is a repudiation of the principle which previously ruled in the life of the church, and an unwarranted assumption of a radical change in God's ways with men. We honor the Bible most truly by continuing in the footsteps of the prophets and apostles of old with souls and minds open to the ever-present Spirit and the ever-growing light. We honor Jesus most by adding to all diligence in interpreting his life and teaching equal diligence in applying his method of attaining the truth, viz., through the appeal to reality.

If this view is the true one, the duty of Christian thinkers in the present generation is to address themselves consciously and earnestly to the task never indeed abandoned, but long held in check by the doctrine of an authoritative canon of Scripture or an authoritative church, and to seek from all the sources at our disposal to frame for our day such a statement of truths in the realm of religion as will on the one hand satisfy in the fullest possible measure the data at our disposal and on the other hand meet as fully as possible the needs of our day. In this process the record of that period of the world in which religious thought was fluid and progressive, and in which it rose to heights rarely reached in the period of relative stagna-

tion that followed, will be of the highest significance. In this process the true greatness of Jesus and the finality of his fundamental thought will not be lost, but only transferred from postulate to assured result of investigation. But no period and no experience, certainly not that of our own day, will be without its possible contribution, and our effort will be not to return to the position of any past age, even that of the dawn of Christianity, but with fullest loyalty to the achievements of the past to push on as far as possible toward the larger light and fuller truth.

Which of these two views will the church of today adopt? Which most truly honors Christ and the Spirit of Truth? Which promises the largest return in truth and the largest results in human welfare? Is there any tenable middle ground between them? Is there any more important question in the realm of thought before the church today than this?

SEMITIC PROPHECY

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For a long time prophecy was looked upon as an exclusively Israelitish institution, as that which lifted Israel head and shoulders above all competitors in the sphere of religion. This point of view was inevitable as long as the opinion prevailed that Israel was "the peculiar people," isolated on every side from the world about her, having connection only with the God above her. But that opinion has now been retired into the ever more thickly populated limbo of outworn and outgrown dogmas. It is impossible for the historian any longer to treat the Hebrew nation as a thing apart. By birth they were members of the great Semitic family. Nothing pertaining to the Semite was wholly foreign to the Hebrew. Semitic blood flowed in Israel's veins; Semitic ideas rounded out her mental horizon; Semitic impulses and passions furnished the content of Israel's emotions. Israel's whole social, intellectual, and spiritual background was through and through Semitic.

Not only so, but at one time or another in her experience she was brought into vital contact with all of the great civilizations of antiquity. Egyptians, Hittites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, all in turn made their contribution to the life and thought of Israel. The great outstanding and enduring feature of Israel's life was her willingness to borrow from her neighbors. Probably no nation has manifested so great an openness of mind and heart as she. Yet there was nothing of slavish dependence in her attitude. She exhibited a wonderful selective power in the things she took, and in many a case the touch of Israel was transforming. It is now generally recognized that not a single institution of Israel's life was exclusively Hebraic. Quantitatively speaking, that which united the Hebrew to the neighboring peoples far outweighed that which differentiated him from them. His pre-eminence was wholly in the sphere of quality and degree.

We are now prepared, therefore, for consideration of the proposition that prophecy was shared alike by all the Semitic peoples. If sacrifice, priesthood, temple, clean and unclean, circumcision, Sabbath, sabbatical year, atonement, fasts, feasts, *maššēbôth*, teraphim, blood-revenge, oracles, prayers, and psalms are all held in common by the Semitic world, why should we expect prophecy to form an exception? Such an expectation becomes even less reasonable when we recall the primitive character of the early Hebrew prophets. We see them roving about in bands somewhat like the howling dervishes of Mohammedanism (I Sam. 10:5); we hear that one of their great ones, at times at least, was compelled to call in music to superinduce the prophetic trance (II Kings 3:15); we discover that the prophetic spirit was contagious and that thus men became subject to an attack of prophetic possession whether they would or no (I Sam. 19:19-21); we gaze in astonishment upon King Saul lying prostrate in the dust and stark naked for a day and a night, a victim of prophetic ecstasy (I Sam. 19:22-24); we learn that the seer, or "man of God," was looked upon as capable of finding lost articles and ready to do so for a consideration (I Sam. 9:5-10). These and other things of the same general character reveal the early Hebrew seer to us as a crude, fanatical ecstatic, having much in common with the Greek *μάντις* or soothsayer. This comparison, of course, does not exhaust the resources of the primitive Hebrew prophet, but it shows us that the roots of prophecy strike deep into the soil of human nature in general. We should have no difficulty in showing that this type of prophet was not the exclusive possession of the Hebrew. The Old Testament itself furnishes us examples in the case of Balaam, son of Beor (Num. 22:5), and again in that of the prophets of Baal whom Elijah defeated upon Mount Carmel, who, whether Israelites or not, in any case were the product of the Baalism of Tyre. In Assyria, also, dreams and oracles played an important part, constituting a "regular means of communication between man and the gods."¹ Oracles were sought by Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and the kings in general upon all sorts of occasions, public and private.² By means of them, the kings seek

¹ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 338 ff., 379.

² Cf. C. D. Gray's translations of some oracles of Esarhaddon in R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, 414 ff.

from the gods guidance and light upon the outcome of their plans. The function of the seer, diviner, and soothsayer in Assyria therefore frequently took on national significance, thus being suggestive of Israelitish prophecy in its higher development. For example, when Ashurbanipal, after the capture of Babylon, propitiated the outraged gods by the purification of their shrines, it was done by direction of the guild of soothsayers. On another occasion, Ashurbanipal, just as he was setting out for a campaign against Elam, poured out his soul in supplication for aid to Ishtar, and later in the same night was comforted by receiving a revelation from her. As he himself tells the story:

Toward the end of the night in which I had addressed myself to her, a seer lay down and dreamed a dream; and Ishtar showed him a vision of the night which he related to me as follows: "Ishtar who dwells in Arbela entered with her quivers hanging down on the right side and on the left. In her hand she held a bow, and a sharp war-sword she drew from its sheath and held before her. Like the mother that bore thee, she speaks with thee, she calls thee. Ishtar, the exalted among the gods, establisheth thy fate. . . . Whither thy face is set, thither go I. Thou didst say to her: 'Whithersoever thou goest, will I go with thee, O queen of the gods.' She replied to thee: 'Thou mayest stay here; where the shrine of Nabu is, eat food, drink wine, make music, and exalt my deity, until I go forth and complete that work and give thee the wish of thy heart. Let not thy countenance pale nor thy feet totter.' In her good mother-love she hid thee and protected thy whole body. Before her will a flame flash forth, and for the destruction of thine enemies will she cause it to go forth abroad. Against Teumman, King of Elam, against whom she is enraged, has she set her face."³

This narrative irresistibly calls to mind the corresponding scene when Ahab and Jehoshaphat sought to know the will of Yahweh concerning the expedition against Ramoth Gilead and finally called in Micaiah ben Imlah.

In connection with the revolt of Shamash-shumukin, king of Babylon and brother of Ashurbanipal, the following episode is narrated:

At that time a certain seer was lying asleep during the night, and he saw a vision, thus: On the disk of Sin (i.e., the moon) there was written as follows: "Whoever plots evil against Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, and begins hostilities against him, I will send an evil death upon. I will bring his life to an end by

³ See *Keilinschri[t]liche Bibliothek*, II, 251 f.

the swift, iron dagger, the firebrand, famine, or the devastation of Gira" (i.e., the pest-god). I heard these things and I trusted in the word of Sin, my lord.⁴

The Assyrian and Babylonian prophet, diviner, or soothsayer was always of the priestly class and connected with a shrine, therein differing it is true from men like Amos and Micah, but on the other hand, furnishing an exact parallel in this respect to a seer like Samuel, who combined in himself the functions of priest and prophet. In contrast with the higher reaches of prophecy in Israel, the prophets of Babylon never succeeded in disengaging themselves from the meshes of sorcery, witchcraft, magic, and necromancy. Nor, at least so far as we at present know, did they ever deal with the ills of the social order and present themselves in behalf of the gods as ardent champions of the poor and the oppressed. But a new inscription may at any moment reveal them to us in a new and better light.

Another close parallel to Old Testament prophecy is furnished us by the little kingdom of Byblos, in Northern Syria. The time of the occurrence was about 1100 B.C. The occasion of the prophecy was an embassy from Hrihor, high-priest of Amon at Thebes, to Zakar-Baal, prince of Byblos. The envoy, Wenamon, was commissioned to secure from Zakar-Baal sufficient cedar from the Lebanon for the building of a new sacred barge for the god Amon. After various delays and vicissitudes, Wenamon arrived at Byblos.⁵ Here his ill-fortune continued, for having come in a merchant-vessel instead of in a royal ship, and lacking the usual costly gifts and other credentials of an Egyptian envoy, he was refused recognition by Zakar-Baal and was ordered to return whence he came. Notwithstanding the fact that the order of dismissal was renewed every day for nineteen days, Wenamon persisted in remaining and urging his claim upon the refractory prince. At last, just as he was on the eve of re-embarking for Egypt, having already sent his baggage aboard, and waiting only for the darkness that he might carry the image of his discredited god aboard under its friendly cover, he was requested to remain and was granted an interview by the prince as a

⁴ See my translation of the "Annals of Ashurbanipal," published in R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, p. 108.

⁵ For the full story of the expedition see J. H. Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 274 ff.

result of which he was able to carry through his mission to success. The reason for the sudden change of heart upon the part of the prince is told by Wenamon as follows: "Now when he (Zakar-Baal) sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of his noble youths, making him frenzied, so that he said: Bring (the god) hither! Bring the messenger of Amon who hath him. Send him and let him go." Thereupon, the king profoundly impressed by this message summoned Wenamon to his presence.

The points of resemblance between this episode and the activity of the Hebrew prophet are clear. There is the same ecstatic state which as in Israel is attributed to divine possession. Further, the prophetic personage is apparently not a priestly official of any sort, but a man of high rank at the court, reminding us somewhat of Isaiah's position. Yet again the prophet does not fear to run diametrically counter to the royal will in bidding the king be courteous to a political representative whom he has thus far treated with the greatest discourtesy. Not only so, but the prophecy comes on the occasion of a national crisis, or at least it probably seemed such to the "noble youth." The prophet fears that the rude dismissal of the Egyptian envoy may involve Byblos in war with the great Egyptian empire, for which he probably entertained a much greater respect and fear than did his master, Zakar-Baal. He broods upon the danger of the king's course, until he is impelled to speak words of warning in the name of his god and in behalf of his country. Here we approach very close to the heart of Hebrew prophecy.

The most striking parallel to Old Testament prophecy, however, comes to us from Egypt. The source of our knowledge concerning this is known as the Leiden papyrus, No. 344. Though long studied by Egyptologists, the difficulty of the text, due to its illegibility, obscurity, and fragmentary character, was so great that not until the year 1903⁶ was any true insight into the nature of its contents obtained, and even then much was left to be illuminated by further study. But in the year 1909 there appeared from the press a study of this document by Alan H. Gardiner, bearing the title, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs). This work containing

⁶ H. O. Lange, "Prophezeiungen eines ägyptischen Weisen," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1903), pp. 601-10.

text, transliteration, translation, and introduction is henceforth the *editio princeps*. It renders the text of the papyrus accessible and intelligible to all scholars. Few texts can be of greater interest or significance to the students of the Old Testament.

The date of the text is at present in large measure an open question. Sethe assigns it to the Hyksos period (*ca.* 1675-1575 B.C.), while Gardiner vacillates between this date and the period between the Sixth and Eleventh Dynasties of Egypt (2475-2160). In either case, the document comes from a period centuries earlier than the first-known appearance of prophecy in Israel. The contents of the document make it evident that an individual named Ipuwer is represented as delivering a long and impassioned discourse in the presence of the king and his courtiers. What the occasion was that called forth this speech we do not know. As Gardiner suggests, he may either have suffered some injustice which made him seem to himself to be the typical victim of an administration that was plunging all his fellow-citizens into disaster and suffering; or he may have been called in by the king for advice; or like Amos at Bethel, he may have gone to court voluntarily, driven by an inner conviction that was like fire in his bones. In any case, he hesitates not to lay bare before the eye of the king the terrible wickedness and consequent misery and disaster that confront the observant citizen on every side. The conditions he describes may be suggested by a collection of some citations from his address:⁷

The door-[keepers] say: Let us go and plunder. The washerman refuses(?) to carry his load. A man looks upon his son as his enemy. The virtuous man walks in mourning(?) on account of that which has happened in the land. The wrong-doer is everywhere. Plague is throughout the land. Blood is everywhere. Crocodiles are glutted(?) with what they have captured, men go to them of their own accord. Forsooth, hair has fallen out for everyone. Great and small say: I wish I might die. Little children say(?): He ought never to have caused me to live(?). Forsooth, all animals, their hearts weep. Cattle moan because of the state of the land. A man strikes his brother, (the son) of his mother. The roads are guarded. Men sit over the bushes until the benighted (traveler) comes, in order to plunder his burden. What is upon him is taken

⁷ The translation of A. H. Gardiner is used throughout this article. It should be borne in mind that, unless otherwise mentioned, the sentences grouped together here and in the following citations do not follow one another closely in the papyrus, but are scattered widely throughout the document.

away. He is belabored(?) with blows of the stick, and slain wrongfully. Forsooth, grain has perished on every side. (People) are stripped of clothes, spices(?) and oil. Everybody says: there is none. The storehouse is ruined. Its keeper is stretched upon the ground. The poor man begs. . . . All is ruin.

One element in the situation that seems to overwhelm Ipuwer is found in the apparently almost complete subversion of the social order. This is depicted for us in the following language:

Forsooth, poor men are become owners of good things. He who could make for himself no sandals is now the possessor of riches. The wealthy are in mourning; the poor man is full of joy. Every tongue says: Let us suppress him the powerful among us. Forsooth, the land turns round as does the potter's wheel. Good things are in the land, (yet) the mistresses of houses say: Would that we had something to eat. The builders of pyramids have become field laborers. The son of a man of rank is no longer distinguished from him who has no such father. The children of princes are dashed against the walls. Those who were clad in fine linen are beaten. He who was a (notable) does commissions himself. Noble ladies suffer like slave girls. All female slaves are free with their tongues. When their mistress speaks it is irksome to the servants. She who looked at her face in the water is possessor of a mirror. Poor men come and go in the great houses. The children of princes are cast out(?) in the streets. He who knows says it is so. He who is ignorant says No. He who does not know it does good in his eyes. He who could make for himself no coffin is (now) (possessor) of a treasury(?). He who never slept upon walls(?) is (now) the possessor of a bed. He who could not build himself a cell is (now) possessor of walls. The possessor of wealth (now) passes the night thirsting. He who begged for himself his dregs is now the possessor of bowls full to overflowing(?). The possessors of robes are (now) in rags. Behold the poor of the land become rich, and (the possessor) of property has become one who has nothing.

An extremely serious feature of the situation is indicated by Ipuwer's statements regarding the general disrespect for law. For example:

Forsooth, the splendid(?) judgment-hall, its writings are taken away. Public offices are opened and (their) census lists are taken away. . . . —[officials] are slain and their writings are taken away. The laws of the judgment hall are cast forth; men walk upon (them) in the public places; poor men break them up(?) in the streets. Two things are done that have never been for long time past; the king is taken away by poor men. Behold a few lawless men have ventured to despoil the land of the kingship. The secrets of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt are divulged. Behold the judges of the land are driven out through the land.

One striking thing about the speech of Ipuwer is the fact that like the prophets of the Old Testament he apparently stands in no awe

of his king, but fearlessly charges him to his face with being himself responsible in large measure for the prevailing conditions. He addresses his king thus:

Taste, knowledge, and truth are with thee. Confusion is what thou dost put throughout the land together with the noise of tumult. Behold one uses violence against another. People conform to that which thou hast commanded. If three men journey upon a road, they are found to be two men; the greater number slay the less. . . . It is because thou hast acted so(?) as to bring these things about(?). Thou hast spoken falsehood. . . . Would that thou mightest taste some of these miseries. Then wouldst thou say

Apparently he charges the king with having been subservient to the will of the powerful regardless of the effect of such proceeding upon the public welfare. Speaking to the king directly he says:

To be ignorant of it is what is pleasant in their hearts. Thou hast done what is good in their hearts. Thou hast nourished people with it.

To add to the horrors of the situation, the land apparently is in the throes of a foreign invasion. Accompanying this condition of material and moral degeneration, it is not surprising to find that Ipuwer also discerns spiritual decay. Men are doubting the existence of God, and acting as though he were not. "Forsooth, the hot-headed(?) man says: if I knew where God is, then would I make offerings unto him."

The unfavorable elements in this piece of literature when it is compared with the prophetic writings of Israel, stand out in clear relief. A polytheistic religion lies behind all of Ipuwer's statements. Magic, at least when performed for legitimate ends, is accepted as commendable, and an exposure of its secrets is deplored. As reparation to the gods for the sins of the land, the prophet prescribes ritualistic performances after the manner of Babylonia, rather than repentance and faith as was the wont of the prophets of Israel. Ipuwer urges to fumigate with incense and to offer water in a jar in the early morning. Remember to erect flagstaffs and to carve stelae, the priest purifying the temples and the god's house being plastered (white) like milk; (remember) to make fragrant the perfume of the horizon and to perpetuate bread-offerings. Remember to observe regulations and to adjust dates. (Remember) to remove him who enters upon the priestly office in impurity of body(?). That is to perform it wrongfully. That is corruption of heart(?).

Still further, it must be confessed that there is no ringing note of sympathy with the poor, such as glorified the prophecy of Israel.

The Egyptian prophet's anger and sympathy are aroused indeed; not so much however because the weak are oppressed as because the established order of society is overthrown. Whereas the Hebrew prophet was the champion of the poor, the Egyptian is in this case, at least, the defender of law and order. It is unseemly in his eyes that the conditions should be reversed as they have been so that poor and rich have changed places.

Yet again, there is an almost total lack of logical order in this prophetic writing as it has come down to us. This to be sure is a fault shared by some of the Hebrew prophecies, but it is not a characteristic of Hebrew prophecy at its best. Repetition, irrelevancy and abrupt transition are unpleasingly frequent in Ipuwer's discourse. This sort of thing compels us to raise the question whether or not modern scholarship has gone too far in its demand of the Hebrew prophets that they give us smooth and logical discourses.

Nor is there apparently any sense on Ipuwer's part of a divine commission. He makes no claim to speak as the representative of the gods. Unless this be entirely due to the fragmentary character of the narrative from which several portions are lacking, it separates Ipuwer widely from the prophets of Israel. The very word prophet in its Hebrew home designated the bearer of that name as spokesman of Yahweh. Their influence with the people was largely due to the recognition they received of their right to declare the oracles of God.

While all this and more may be said in the way of unfavorable criticism, it is none the less true that the resemblance to Hebrew prophecy is remarkably close. The unflinching courage shown by Ipuwer in pressing home upon the king his responsibility for the disastrous state of affairs is parallel to Nathan's "Thou art the man." The entire absence of the ecstatic element and of everything in the way of fanaticism is suggestive of Hebrew prophecy at its best. The resolute exposure of the ills of society of which the narrative is full is in keeping with the very essence of Old Testament prophecy. Nowhere else in the Semitic world save in Israel so far as we now know was there anything approximating this study of society from the moral point of view.⁸ Furthermore, this capacity of the Egyptian to detach himself from the social state to which he belonged and to

⁸ Cf. J. H. Breasted, "The Earliest Social Prophet," *The American Journal of Theology*, January, 1910, pp. 114 ff.

make the society of his day the object of his study is manifested here in any case centuries before anything of the same sort presents itself in Hebrew literature. Not only so but it is quite evident that Ipuwer was not the first in Egypt to strike out new paths in social study. His work presupposes that of forerunners who have created a style and method for him. Here is a man who like the prophets of Israel dared to assume the attitude of a judge toward his own generation which he weighed in the balances and found wanting. When we remember that this was the supreme function of the Hebrew prophet we at once see how important this point of contact between Egypt and Israel becomes. It is a fact that immediately raises questions as to the character and closeness of the literary and spiritual relations of the two peoples.

One more point of resemblance must be noted. It is found in the following portion of Ipuwer's discourse:

He bringeth(?) coolness upon that which is hot. It is said he is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day to gather them together, their hearts being on fire(?). Would that he had perceived their nature in the first generation (of men); then he would have repressed evil, he would have stretched forth (his) arm against it; he would have destroyed their seed(??) and their inheritance. . . . Where is he (?) today? Is he sleeping? Behold, his might is not seen.

This passage has occasioned discussion among Egyptian scholars. Professors H. O. Lange, Ed. Meyer, J. H. Breasted, and others, claim messianic significance for it, declaring it to be a prophecy of a coming prince who should rescue and heal his people, restoring Egypt to her old-time place of prestige and power. A. H. Gardiner, on the other hand, presents a strong case for the view that the language is to be regarded as describing the activity of the god Re, the creator and preserver of mankind. He it is who is the "herdsman of mankind" and might have "perceived their nature in the first generation (of men)" and might have brought the race to an end and so have avoided the existence of the present evil age. His return to his earth will restore peace and prosperity. Whether or not the speaker refers to a messianic prince is uncertain, as a matter of fact; but it must be remembered that Egyptian mythology looked back to Re as the first king and that all succeeding kings were "sons of Re." Hence the

Egyptian messianic king would inevitably be thought of as a re-incarnation of Re and might thus be spoken of as present at the first origins of the race. Indeed, we recall that Micah speaks of a coming Messiah "whose origins are from of old, from ancient time." It is to be noticed, however, as Gardiner reminds us, that Ipuwer does not *predict* the coming of the messianic ruler, but merely gives expression to his longing that such an one might appear. Whether or not the thought is concerned with an individual Messiah in the ordinary sense of the word, the context is too uncertain to determine. But it is perfectly clear that there is here presented a longing for the coming of a golden age such as that so gloriously depicted and so confidently predicted by the prophets of the Old Testament.

Finally, what is to be said regarding the relation of Israel's prophecy to that of her neighbors? Certainly, they are not indebted to Israel for the gift of prophecy, for non-Israelitish prophecy antedates prophecy in Israel by centuries. On the other hand, are we compelled to say that Israel derived her prophecy in its earliest forms from her neighbors? There seems to be no more reason for such a supposition than for the ultimate derivation of any of the other Israelitish religious institutions from abroad. Prophecy seems to have been a native product in Israel as elsewhere in the Semitic world. Semites all alike apparently possessed the original endowment of the prophetic spirit. But in Israel this spirit yielded its choicest fruit. To what extent, if any, Israel was directly influenced by her neighbors in general and Egypt in particular in the development of her prophetic gift it is hazardous to say in the light of the present imperfection of our knowledge concerning the commerce of ideas in the oriental world. It is very probable, however, that the prophets of Israel knew something of the activity of their fellows in Egypt. The only thing certain is that up to the present time no oriental nation has produced anything approaching the purity and power of Hebrew prophecy. Israel's prophets excel even those of Egypt in the nobility and simplicity of their conception of God and in the lofty purity and contagious passion of their ethical ideals. Granting Ipuwer the benefit of all doubts, he still fails to exalt ethics above ritual and to make it the supreme concern of the divine heart and mind. Here Amos and his followers stand without a rival.

THE EMMAUS DISCIPLES AND THE PURPOSES OF LUKE

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It is worthy of note that in the Gospel of Luke the witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus are very distinctly set forth as a larger company than the two or three women, and the Eleven, known to Matthew and Mark. The women who receive at the tomb the first news that the Master is risen are defined (23:55) as "the women which had come with him out of Galilee," a palpable reference to 8:2 f., where are mentioned Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, "and many others." So (24:10) the women at the grave are Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary of James, "and the other women with them"; a numerous company is intended.

But the group that receives the women's witness is also a larger one than the Eleven cited by the other synoptists. "They told all these things to the eleven, *and to all the rest*" (24:9). Two of "the rest," not of the Eleven, start for Emmaus in 24:13. Returning later with their news of a vision of the risen Master, they "found the eleven gathered together, *and them that were with them*," and to this larger group the Master presently appeared, thus vouchsafing to the two from Emmaus a second appearance within a few hours (24:33 ff.).

That this enlargement of the circle of primitive witnesses has pragmatic value for the author we may call Luke, whoever he may have been, that it reflects an interest which he strongly feels, is obvious. These things were not done in a corner, he will say; the original witnesses were many, the original skeptics, whom only reiterated evidence finally convinced, were a numerous company, not limited to the personal disciples, whom affection or enthusiasm might delude.

From the point of view of this interest may be examined the Emmaus episode, the most perplexing and obscure of all the incidents of

the resurrection narrative. An episode to which there is not the faintest allusion elsewhere in the New Testament, it is here recounted with a literary grace and charm which appeal to every reader. We can but agree with Brandt that here we see "the genius of Luke in his best hours."¹

For Luke the incident is clearly of the very greatest importance; it occupies one-half of his entire resurrection-narrative (chap. 24), and is recounted at far greater length than any other incident of the period, with far greater minuteness and emphasis of detail. The two men whose experience is here related must, then, have a peculiar significance for Luke.

They are, however, not men we have met before, or shall meet again. Only one is named; of their personalities or their histories, either prior to this incident or subsequently, we learn nothing. Despite the fact that the fullest revelation of the risen One is theirs, that to them alone, save to Peter, is granted a double "appearance," they do not appear in the Book of Acts among the witnesses of the resurrection.

Clearly they are of significance, not in their specific persons, but as *representatives*. They are the representative members of the larger circle referred to in vss. 9 and 33.

Now, this larger company does not appear here for the first time in Luke's pages; it was already present in Galilee. To it belong the mysterious Seventy (10:1), who appear and disappear so abruptly, whose number is the number of the nations, who are not called "apostles," and yet are "sent out" precisely as the Twelve are, with the same commission. Such a larger group, indeed, " companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John," says Peter in Acts 1:21. The "us" of this utterance includes the company present, about a hundred and twenty "brothers," two of whom are named, Joseph (Justus) and Matthias (vss. 15, 23).

These men, too, are qualified to become "witnesses with us of his resurrection," and any one of the number, as the lot might fall, might be "numbered with the eleven apostles" (vss. 22, 26). They must, therefore, have seen appearances of the risen Master, must

¹ *Die Evangelische Geschichte*, 365.

have heard his teachings, companying with the Eleven "unto the day that he was received up from us" (vs. 22; Luke 24:33, 50 f.). So, too, on the day of Pentecost, the members of this larger group share in the outpouring of the Spirit, and its manifestations (2:1-4).

This larger group, alongside the Twelve, is representative, for Luke, of the men who made the world-church to which he belongs. That church was not the creation of the Twelve, but of others, more numerous, a few of whom, only, Luke can name when he recounts acts. The Palestinian church created by the Twelve (Eleven) is not the world-church: it is rapidly fading from Luke's horizon. There must be a true apostolic succession from the risen Master to Luke's church. There must be another company of witnesses, whose authority and connection with the events are as unquestioned as those of the Twelve. They must see Jesus risen, and receive instruction from his lips.

This they do in the persons of Cleopas and his companion, who establish and transmit to the world-church living connection with the living Head, *not mediated through the Twelve*. Here is an "appearance" earlier in time, indeed, than that to the Eleven, more extended, more kindly, more intimate.

The story as it stands is Luke's creation; he has no written source for it, and no oral tradition of its details. He constructs a narrative in order to present in complete and intelligible fashion an important truth of the church's life:

And behold two of them on that very day were going to a village distant sixty stadia from Jerusalem, whose name was Emmaus, and they were conversing with one another concerning all these happenings. And it happened, as they conversed and discussed, Jesus himself, approaching, was going along with them. And their eyes were held not to recognize him.

Here is a point in which Luke has a special interest, the lack of belief at the manifestation of the risen Jesus (cf. vss. 11, 37, 41). It must be emphasized, for apologetic reasons, yet it must be explained, and the explanation here is precisely what it is, for example, in 9:45; the divine action prevents their perception, a characteristic Lukan motive.

And he said to them: What are these words which you exchange with one another in walking? And they came to a halt, with gloomy faces. And one of

them, by name Cleopas,² said unto him: Art thou the only one sojourning in Jerusalem and not acquainted with what has taken place in it in these days? And he said to them: What? And they said to him: The things concerning Jesus the Nazarene, who became a prophet powerful in work and word in the sight of God and all the people; how our chief priests and rulers delivered him up to the condemnation of death, and crucified him.

This is one of the many passages in which Luke declares directly that the Jews killed Jesus; the necessities of controversy have led him to make this point too prominent, and to view Pilate in too friendly a light, but the essential fact remains. The whole narrative of the trial and passion Luke has re-written from this point of view,³ but Mark makes the point equally clear: "But we were hoping that he was the one who was to ransom Israel. But furthermore, with all this, it is now the third day since these things took place." Here the two men are remembering the predictions of Jesus' resurrection, which they ought, at this point, to quote; the allusion is unintelligible to a stranger, without explanation. "But also certain women of our company amazed us, having been at dawn to the grave"—we miss an antecedent reference to the burial, nor is it intimated whether ὁρθριναί signifies "today at dawn," "or "yesterday"—"and not having found the body, they came saying that also they had seen a vision of angels, who affirmed him to be alive. And some of those with us went off to the tomb and found it to be as the women said, but him they did not see." Here again we miss the antecedent account to which this last item refers, and the omission is indeed strange, but not so strange as the failure of any antecedent for the ὥφθη Σίμωνι of vs. 34. It has, indeed, been suggested that vss. 22-24 are an interpolation, like vs. 12, on the basis of the Johanne story.⁴ It cannot be denied that the σκυθρωποί would be more

² This is a pure Greek name, the short form of Κλέπατρος, and, as such, has significance for Luke; it has nothing to do with the Aramaic Klopas of John 19:25. So Holtzmann and Plummer, against Zahn, *et al.* What Brandt, *Evangelische Geschichte*, 379, suggests as to the symbolic value of this name is nonsense. Less so, Pfeiderer, *Urchristentum*, 2d ed., 1902, I, 468.

³ This is the standing phraseology of Acts, e. g., 2:23, 36; 3:13 f., 17; 4:10 f.; 5:30; 7:51-53, etc.

⁴ Wellhausen, on Luke 24:34 f.; J. Weiss, *Schriften des N. T.*, I, 483, would excise vs. 24 only. For the omission of vs. 12 the MSS evidence is decisive. Cf. the note by Westcott-Hort, in *Notes on Select Readings*, and Tischendorf *ad. loc.* The

in place if the complaint ended with vs. 21, and that the following rebuke would be more natural. But there is no MS authority for omitting the verses, and vs. 22, in particular, has every internal indication of genuineness. Vs. 13 plainly implies that the two men were of the company that heard the women's report.

"And he said unto them: O unintelligent and slow in heart to believe in all that the prophets spoke. Was it not necessary that Messiah suffer these things and enter into his glory?" A defense of the passion lies in these words, but no allusion to the resurrection, save as "enter into his glory" is a general expression for the passage from death into the heavenly life. "And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets he interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself."

Here is the guarantee that the gospel of the founders of the great church is authentic and true to the Scriptures in which it was foretold, despite every Jewish-Christian claim to the contrary. Here is a boast kindred to Paul's, "I make known to you, brethren, as touching the gospel which was preached by me, that it is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came through revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. 1:11 f.). So the Emmaus disciples get their gospel and its Scriptural basis directly from the risen Lord himself, and not through any mediation of "the Twelve." That claim could have been made, surely was made, by many besides Paul; by the five hundred brethren, by some part of "all the apostles." Luke here makes it for all these men in the person of Cleopas and his companion: "And they drew near to the village where they were going, and he made as though to go farther. And they urged him, saying: Stay with us, because it is toward evening, and already the day has declined.⁵ And he entered in to stay with them." Luke evidently here thinks of the two men as at home in Emmaus, and this as their house; yet in vs. 30 Jesus appears as the house master. "And it came to pass, when he had reclined with them, taking the bread, he blessed, and having broken, he was

verse is rejected by Wellhausen, B. Weiss, Holtzmann, Schmiedel; Arnold Meyer, Lake, and many others. Defended by Keim, Brandt, Merx.

⁵ There is a possible influence here of the phraseology of Judg. 19:8 f. So Brandt, *op. cit.* p. 365.

distributing to them. And their eyes were opened and they recognized him, and he vanished from them."

Here the supernatural influence by which their eyes had been holden (vs. 16) is removed, and they know who has been their teacher and illuminator. It is implied that the two would have known Jesus had not the spell been laid upon their eyes, that is, that they had personal acquaintance with him before his death (Acts 1:21 f.). The way in which the spell was loosed is extremely significant. It was the *κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου* which brought recognition. Luke may or may not reflect here that these men, though not present at the last supper, had frequently seen Jesus break bread at common meals with his followers (Luke 9:16). Probably he did not so reflect. He is intent on saying something much less prosaic. Not only had Jesus walked and talked with these two men, and taught them the deeper things concerning himself; he had celebrated with them the Eucharist, the dearest sacrament of the church.

The "breaking of bread" (vs. 35) became practically a technical term for the Lord's Supper, and is so used by Luke again in Acts 2:42, as is the phrase *κλᾶν (τὸν) ἄρτον* in 2:46; 20:7, 11; cf. I Cor. 10:16. It is notable that the verb *κλάω* is not used in the New Testament except in reference to the bread of the Eucharist;⁶ the nouns *κλάσμα* (used only of the fragments remaining after the multitude in the desert was fed), and *κλάσις* (only in Luke 24:35 and Acts 2:42) have the same limitation of usage as their verb.

For the Christians of Luke's time, it was precisely in the mystery of the Supper that believers drew closest to their Master and found his most intimate presence revealed. Then, as at no other time, did they perceive and apprehend his very bodily presence. Better than all visions, a privilege which put them on an equality with those who had companied with the Master in the flesh, the Supper was the very opening of their inward eyes, the revealing to their spirits of the object of their adoring love. And this revelation, most intimate, most deep, most tender, Cleopas and the other had experienced. No higher, truer revelation could come to any believer, any apostle, than this. The Lord had both taught them of his truth, and min-

⁶ The language of Mark 8:6 ff., plainly shows the *ἀγάπη* as the model for this wonder-story, and Acts 27:35 *consciously* reproduces the same eucharistic language.

istered to them of his sacred presence. So the great builder of the world-church cries, "Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? . . . Are they ministers of Christ? . . . I more! . . . I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord." But the humblest member of that church may reply, "The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?" If to the founders he had appeared in vision, to every believer he was known in the breaking of the bread. The consciousness of the church that on these two means of revelation of the glorified Master her life was founded and is perpetually renewed and continued, Luke brings to exquisite expression in the story of Emmaus.

"And they said one to the other: Was not our heart heavy within us as he was talking to us on the road, as he opened to us the Scriptures?" The reading "heavy" is to be preferred here to the usual "burning," though *καιομένη* has the better attestation in the Greek MSS. The Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian), supported by the Sahidic and (in substance) the Armenian, has "heavy," the Syriac words for "heavy" and for "burning" differing only in the position of a dot. So also the Aramaic יִקִּיר *yaqir*, "heavy," differs only slightly from יִקִּיד *yaqid*, "burning." The confusion, i. e., arose in an Aramaic or Syriac version, not in the Greek text. Yet the Greek text has not wholly escaped it. Codex Bezae has *κεκαλυμμένη co-opertum*, and old-Latin MSS have *excaecatum*, *optusum*, *exterminatum*, "blinded," "dulled," "made senseless." The Syriac influence on the Western Text offers still an unsettled question, and the interrelations of readings here are difficult to unravel.⁷ But the internal evidence is conclusive for some word meaning "heavy" or "dull," probably either *βραδεία* or *βαρεία*. The process by which almost all our Greek MSS came to offer *καιομένη* cannot be traced here; perhaps it cannot be traced at all. But the reference is plainly to vs. 25, and the Master's reproach, "O slow of heart to believe" (*βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεύειν*), a reproach which the two men are here simply repeating. "Oh, how stupid we were, not to understand that it was He," that is the clear and evident sense.

⁷ Cf. Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort's note *ad. loc.*, Wellhausen, Plummer, and especially Merx, *ad. loc.*, also the *Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, by Agnes Smith Lewis, 1896, *ad. loc.*

"Our heart burning within us" would indicate some premonition or suggestion of the truth, which is quite opposed to the context; they heard his words of instruction concerning Messiah and the way of entrance into his glory, they understood his meaning, but not once did it occur to them: this is He. They ask him to remain with them, as an act of hospitality, never dreaming they are entertaining Messiah unawares. He is not in any degree known to them until "the breaking of the bread." Their eyes were holden that they should not know him" over the entire period covered by vs. 15-31, until "their eyes were opened." How natural their self-reproachful repetition of the Master's rebuke: "O fools and slow of heart!" Luke elsewhere has the phraseology: "the heart made heavy," "dull." Cf. 21:34, *μήποτε βαρηθῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι ὑμῶν*.

Here is, in brief, another statement of that slowness to believe in the resurrection and messianic exaltation of Jesus which is one of Luke's strongest apologetic motives. There was some strange stupor over their senses, as there had been at the great crises of the Transfiguration and the Agony in the Garden (Luke 9:32; 22:45 f.), when they were weighed down with sleep. And this torpor of their understandings had not been mere stupidity on their part; it had been a supernatural influence, a part of the divine plan for assuring to the world beyond all shadow of doubt that Jesus had been "declared to be the Son of God with power, by the resurrection of the dead." So in 9:45 the plain declaration of Messiah's passion "was concealed from them, that they should not perceive it," so their eyes are holden and their hearts are slow, so the resurrection message is to them but the senseless raving of half-mad women.

Especially important for Luke, and for all other early Christian apologists, was the explanation of the fact that with the Old Testament and all its rich messianic prophecy before them, Jesus' earliest followers had not seen in him the fulfilment of the promise. How clear it was to the apologists, e. g., to Matthew, that even the most trivial details of Jesus' experience fitted perfectly the prophetic picture! They had ceased to be conscious that it was only *after* he had been "declared to be the Son of God with power, by the resurrection from the dead," that the process of adjustment between his career and the Scriptures began. Not that any coincidence between

what he did and the prophecies suggested his messiahship, but his messiahship once established on other grounds, the prophecies, of course, *must conform*. It was the resurrection which opened to them the Scriptures, and beginning from Moses and all the prophets, interpreted the things concerning him, their Lord and Christ. Of this fact no one of the evangelists was fully conscious, yet it shines through their narratives at more than one point.

For example, in Mark 9:9, after the chosen three disciples have beheld Jesus transfigured in celestial glory, with Moses and Elijah, the Master charges them "that they should tell no man what things they had seen, save when the Son of Man should have risen from the dead." We may be sure that this injunction was obeyed. Very significantly the parallel in Luke (9:32) represents the disciples as "weighed down with sleep" at this great moment; so is explained their lack of entire comprehension. In many passages the same motive comes to expression: John 20:9 has it in clear wording, "As yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise from the dead." In 20:20-23 (=Luke 24:41-49) they come to know it.

"And arising that very hour they returned to Jerusalem"—apparently they had intended to remain in Emmaus, i. e., they were not members of the Jerusalem group—"and found assembled the eleven and those with them"—note the constant presence of the larger group to receive this third witness of the resurrection—"saying: Truly the Master arose and appeared to Simon."

The abrupt and unrelated insertion of the latter statement into this context has always been a point of criticism for the commentators. Here is a bit of the primitive tradition of "appearances" of the Master in glory, indeed, of the first and most important appearance, and yet it gets but the scantest notice, as a second-hand report, with no word of description. The explanation is not far to seek. The only "appearance" to disciples of which tradition has given Luke any *description* is that to the "Eleven." The first intercourse with the risen Lord which he describes, the one which he gives at greatest length, with the greatest care, with most evidence of personal interest, is that which the Emmaus disciples, outside the circle of the Twelve, enjoy. Yet the tradition gave him the bare fact that the first appearance was to Peter. Peter, too, is one of Luke's

heroes; he, as well as Paul and the others, helps to carry the gospel out of Judaism into the world. Luke has no interest whatever in suppressing the appearance to Peter, but he knows nothing to say about it. He can preserve its chronological priority only by having the Eleven announce it to the Two, before the latter make their report. If we ask when, where, under what circumstances the appearance came, Luke knows no more than do we. He had to insert the statement at this point, and had absolutely no details; the awkwardness and abruptness which critics find in the phraseology are only natural. Though one almost inevitably supposes that Luke must have related at some length the appearance to the pillar apostle Simon Peter, he does not do so, and that simply because he cannot. Vs. 34 indicates not only the measure of his immediate personal concern in Peter and the "outside disciples," respectively, but also the measure of his knowledge of the experiences which gave them, respectively, their call and consecration to the apostolic ministry. Of Peter he repeats two traditional words; of the others he writes twenty-three verses.

The Emmaus narrative is not a record of historical happenings; it is Luke's construction. But what it expresses is historical fact, viz., that others besides the Twelve had visions of the risen Master, that the Christian movement which eventuated in the world-church of the second century did not go out altogether, or chiefly, from the twelve disciples.

Acts makes that important fact clear, but we do not commonly date early enough the participation of this larger group in the work. We vaguely think of it as beginning with Paul's conversion, some five years after Jesus' death. That is largely due to Luke's own presentation, in the earlier chapters of Acts, for Luke, though he is very sure of the fact, lacks definite data for its demonstration. We must carry back this wider sphere of apostolic activity into the time immediately after Jesus' death, as Luke correctly, if vaguely, does. The matter needs more attention than it has had, and would repay careful study. Might we not hope, for example, for some light on the foundation of the church at Rome, and some explanation of the fact that this church needs, in the year 59, a detailed justification of the freedom of Christianity from Judaism?

At any rate, we are not without more definitely historical data than Luke offers. Paul's allusion to "Andronicus and Junias my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners, *who are of note among the apostles, who also have been in Christ before me*" (Rom. 16:7), may give food for thought.

Here are two men, distinguished (ἐπισήμοι) among the company of apostles, who are absolutely unknown except for this casual allusion, and yet whose Christian life and activity began prior to Paul's.⁸ How many other such must there not have been! The list of names in Rom., chap. 16, suggests many questions; what, e. g., of those four other kinsmen of Paul, Herodion and Lucius and Jason and Sosipater? At any rate, one cannot help being reminded of another definite statement of Paul's, "then he appeared to all the apostles" (I Cor. 15:7).

Paul cites the appearances to Peter and to the Twelve from the primitive κήρυγμα, and then adds appearances to many outside this traditional group, appearances which lie entirely outside the gospel accounts, except that of Luke. So to five hundred men at one time, this very early, succeeding the appearance to the Twelve, and preceding that to Jesus' own brother James. What must these five hundred and more men not have done for the spread of the new faith! James sees Jesus and becomes an apostle; then, in turn, all the apostles are called by the heavenly vision to their work. These do not include the Twelve, but are a distinct and multifold larger number. The list really begins with James, and ends with Paul himself; both of whom are apostles, but only as are Junias and Andronicus and all the rest.

After Peter and the Twelve and the Five Hundred have seen the Lord, in other words—and that means very shortly after Jesus' death—begins a series of "appearances" to a great number of men, beginning with James, a series that had not entirely ceased when Paul was writing, to James, to all the apostles, to me. The ἐφάπαξ significantly fails with τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν, and must not be supplied in thought, as is commonly done. Rather, "as often as a man was called to missionary service, it was done by means of a

⁸ E. Riegenbach, *Die Auferstehung Jesu*, 2d ed., 1908, p. 9, suggests that these two men may have been among the Five Hundred.

Christophany.”⁹ Only so could one be an apostle, “numbered with the eleven apostles,” which means “to become a witness with us of the resurrection” (Acts 1:22). The apostolic call is almost synonymous with a seeing of the Master; “Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?” (I Cor. 9:1). Each of the long list of apostles must make the same claim. “Then to all the apostles,” says Paul. Luke in the Emmaus story simply gives us the beginning and the typical expression of this greater and more prolonged revelation. Origen correctly understands the relation of Luke’s presentation to Paul’s brief list, when he cites the substance of Paul’s words, “and subsequently he appeared to all the other apostles besides (*παρὰ*, “alongside”) the Twelve, *perhaps to the Seventy*.”¹⁰

⁹ E. von Dobschütz, *Ostern und Pfingsten*, 1903, p. 35.

¹⁰ *Contra Celsum*, II:65.

THE HEBREW IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

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IV. YAHWEH'S RELATION TO THE DEAD IN THE EARLIEST HEBREW RELIGION

In the first article of this series¹ attention was called to the conception of the soul which the Hebrews inherited from their Semitic forefathers. In the second article² the primitive cult of the dead was investigated. In the third article³ it was shown how, through the conquest of Canaan, the Babylonian doctrine of Sheol was superimposed upon the ancient belief in spirits. We must now consider how this inheritance of animistic ideas from pre-Mosaic times was affected by the development of the religion of Yahweh.

A. *The Preprophetic Period (before 760 B.C.)*

I. *The primitive conception of spirits was unaffected by early Yahwism.*—The Mosaic doctrine of God was not monotheism but monolatry. It did not say, "Thou shalt not *believe* that there are other gods," but, "Thou shalt *have* no other gods beside me." The god of Moses bore the personal name Yahweh, which shows that he was only one of a class of supernatural beings. All the divinities of primitive Semitic heathenism were still regarded as real persons, only Israel was forbidden to worship them (cf. Exod. 15:11; Judg. 11:24; I Kings 11:33; II Kings 1:2 f.; 3:27; Deut. 4:19; 29:26; 32:8 in the Greek). In the same way belief in the existence of spirits of the dead was left undisturbed by the religion of Yahweh. All the animistic conceptions held by the primitive Semites in common with other ancient peoples were incorporated bodily into the Hebrew religion, and remained unchanged down to the times of the prophets. Mosaism had no new eschatology of the individual; it simply accepted the ideas that it found on the ground. For this reason there is nothing

¹ *Biblical World*, January, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, February, 1910.

³ *Ibid.*, March, 1910.

new in the preprophetic period to add to the account of the earliest conceptions of the soul that was given in the first article of this series.

2. *Sheol stood outside of the authority of Yahweh.*—The recognition that there were other gods of other peoples led naturally to the belief that foreign lands stood outside of Yahweh's sphere of influence, and that his activity was limited for the most part to the land of Canaan (cf. Gen. 4:14; I Sam. 26:19 f.; II Sam. 15:8; II Kings 5:15, 17). In a similar manner Sheol was regarded as lying outside of his rule. It was a foreign land, presided over by its own gods, the spirits of the dead, and over its border Yahweh never passed to exert his authority. In the creation narrative of J it is not mentioned along with "earth and heaven" as created by Yahweh (Gen. 2:4b ff.). Even in the late Priestly account (Gen. 1:1—2:4a) it is omitted from the works of Elohim, and the same is true of II Esdras 6:1 ff. Nowhere in the Old Testament is Yahweh's creation of Sheol referred to, and Wis. 1:13 asserts, "God made not death" (cf. 2:24). Not until the Middle Ages did the Jewish rabbis infer from the lack of the formula, "and God saw that it was good," in Gen. 1:6-8, that Sheol was created on the second day.⁴ Yahweh was conceived as dwelling in heaven (Gen. 11:5; Exod. 24:10; I Kings 22:19), whence he came down to exert his authority on earth, but never once in preprophetic literature is he said to descend into Sheol, or in any way to show his power there.

His rewards of the righteous and his punishments of the wicked were limited to this life. To those who kept his commandments he promised that their days should be long upon the land which Yahweh their God gave them (Exod. 20:12), that their bread and their water should be blessed, and sickness should be kept away from them, that none should cast their young or be barren, that all their enemies should be defeated before them, and their border should be widely extended (Exod. 23:25-31). Those who broke his commandments were punished with sudden death (Gen. 38:7 ff.; I Sam. 6:19 ff.; 25:39; II Sam. 6:6 ff.), with loss of children and property, with sickness, misfortune, and invasion by enemies (Gen. 44:16; Judg. 9:56 f.; II Sam. 16:8). Nowhere in pre-exilic literature is any reward of virtue or any punishment of sin anticipated in Sheol. The righteous

⁴ Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, II, 326.

Hezekiah is represented as saying, "I shall go unto the gates of Sheol. . . . I shall not see Yahweh in the land of the living. . . . They that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy faithfulness (Isa. 38:10 f., 18); and Ps. 88:4 f. says: "I am counted with them that go down into the pit; I am as a man that hath no help: cast off among the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, whom thou rememberest no more, and they are cut off from thy hand." Both of these passages are probably late, still they preserve the thought of the early Hebrew religion. The sinner who went down to Sheol was safe from the direct vengeance of Yahweh. The only way in which he could now be reached was through his children. If they were cut off, his spirit would be deprived of the offerings that were necessary for its repose. Hence the declaration that Yahweh "visits the punishment of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and fourth generation of those that hate him" (Exod. 20:5).⁵

Since Yahweh was powerless either to bless or to curse in Sheol, worship of him ceased of necessity when one entered that land. The later literature repeatedly asserts that he cannot be served there, and this is undoubtedly an echo of earlier thought. Thus Ps. 5:5 declares, "In death there is no remembrance of thee; in Sheol who shall give thee thanks"; Isa. 38:18 f., "Sheol cannot praise thee, Death cannot celebrate thee. . . . The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day."

From these facts it is clear that the doctrine of spirits and the doctrine of Sheol were in no way a product of the Mosaic religion, but were pre-Mosaic beliefs that were tolerated at first because early Yahwism had nothing new to offer in their place. So long as Sheol stood outside of Yahweh's jurisdiction, no radical change could arise in Israel's conception of the future life. The primitive Semitic and the Babylonian eschatologies held their own without interference until the time when Yahweh was known to be the universal God, whose authority extended to Sheol as well as to all other parts of the universe. Then at last these venerable beliefs began to give place to a worthier idea of the future life.

3. *The worship of spirits was from the first forbidden by Yahweh.*—The God whom Moses proclaimed did not deny the existence of other

⁵ *Biblical World*, February, 1910, p. 90.

gods, but he did deny their right to receive the worship of Israel. The commandment "Thou shalt have no other gods beside me," which the Deuteronomic Decalogue (Deut. 5:7; Exod. 20:3) places at the head of Yahweh's fundamental requirements, stands also at the head of the original Book of the Covenant, which has been preserved by J in Exod. 34:14 and by E in Exod. 21:23. It is universally conceded that this was one of the doctrines of primitive Mosaism. In like manner, although Yahweh did not deny the existence of spirits of the dead, worship of them in any form whatsoever he sternly prohibited. By the ancient Hebrews the shades were known as *ēlōhîm*, "gods" (I Sam. 28:13), and received all the acts of homage that were paid to other divinities;⁶ consequently they were included in the general prohibition of the worship of other gods that lay at the foundation of the Mosaic religion. Yahweh was "a jealous God," who would not tolerate the cult of ancestors, heroes, or other spirits, any more than he would tolerate the cult of the nature gods, tribal gods, or any of the other *b^cālîm* of the Semitic world.

With the first proclamation of Yahweh the doom of ancestor-worship was sealed; but, as was to be expected, a long conflict was necessary before it was finally eradicated from Israel. This form of religion was firmly established among the Hebrews in pre-Mosaic times, and the conquest of Canaan tended only to confirm it. As the Book of Judges and the early prophets repeatedly inform us, "Israel served the *b^cālîm*," and among these *b^cālîm* were the ancestors and heroes who from time immemorial had been worshiped in Canaan.

Gradually, however, the true genius of the Mosaic religion asserted itself. Through the efforts of the Nazirites, Levites, judges, seers, and other religious enthusiasts, Yahweh finally triumphed over spirits of the dead as well as over the other *b^cālîm*. By the beginning of the period of the monarchy his victory was complete; the local divinities were no longer worshiped by the majority of the nation, and the supreme authority of Yahweh was recognized in all parts of the land. From I Sam. 28:9 it appears that Saul, who owed his throne to the choice of Yahweh (I Sam. 10:1), and who had himself received the spirit of Yahweh (I Sam. 10:10; 19:23), made an effort to exterminate those who had familiar spirits and necromancers; and was

⁶ See article in *Biblical World*, February, 1910.

so successful that, when, toward the close of his reign, he wished to consult a medium, he had difficulty in finding one. The fact that this medium was a woman shows that invocation of the dead was already discredited in Israel. Dying superstitions usually linger among women after they have been abandoned by men. The commandment of the Book of the Covenant, "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live" (Exod. 22:18), is also directed against necromantic arts; and, if the text be sound, shows that these survived chiefly among women. The protestation of the bringer of the tithe in Deut. 26:14, "I have not given thereof for the dead," is probably a fragment of a liturgy that is far older than Deuteronomy, and the prohibitions of necromancy in Deut. 18:11 and the Holiness Code (Lev. 19:31; 20:6, 27) are also survivals of ancient legislation. It was, therefore, no new doctrine that Isaiah taught: "When they say unto you consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that gibber and moan, give this answer: Should not a people rather consult its God? On behalf of the living, should men consult the dead?" (Isa. 8:19).

4. *Yahweh appropriated the cult of the dead.*—The method by which Yahweh triumphed over the *b^cālîm* of Canaan was not by destroying them but by absorbing them. The name *ba'al* became a synonym of Yahweh, and the *b^cālîm* were regarded as his local manifestations. The ancient shrines of the land became his shrines, and the legends connected with them were retold as stories of his dealings with the patriarchs. The agricultural ritual and the harvest festivals of the *b^cālîm* were reconsecrated to his service.

The same process is seen in Yahweh's relation to spirits of the dead. He conquered them by assuming their functions and claiming their rites. Oracular indication through physical objects became his work in the sacred lot of Urim and Thummim (I Sam. 14:41; 28:6; Deut. 33:8). Disease and insanity were now ascribed to his activity (Num. 12:10; I Sam. 16:14; 25:38; I Kings 17:20). Genius and inspiration of every sort were traced to the operation of his spirit (Exod. 28:3; 31:3; Num. 27:18; Judg. 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14; I Sam. 11:6). The revealing of the future through prophets became his exclusive prerogative. It was only when he refused to answer Saul by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets, that Saul was constrained to seek the help of inferior

spirits. The avenging of shed blood was now assumed by him (Gen. 4:11 ff.; II Sam. 21:1 f.; Deut. 21:1-9). Violation of tombs was an affront to him (Amos 2:1). Care for the widow and orphaned children became his responsibility (Exod. 20:6; 22:22). The fulfilment of a father's blessing or curse became his concern (Gen. 9:25-27; 27:27-29, 39-40; 49:2-27).

The shrines of Canaan that had formerly been consecrated to the cult of the dead were now, like the high places of all the other *b'cālim*, appropriated by Yahweh. The tombs of Sarah and Abraham, of Israel, of Rachel, of Deborah, of Joseph, of Miriam, and of numerous local heroes, became his sanctuaries, and their holiness was now explained as due, not to the fact that the forefathers were buried there, but that they had been the scenes of his manifestation in the past.⁷ Far from being "unclean" in early times graves were places of peculiar sanctity, near which it was most fitting that Yahweh should be worshiped. Caves owed their holiness to the fact that they were used as places of burial (cf. Gen. 23:9), and it is noteworthy that the original sanctuary of Yahweh at Sinai was a cave (Exod. 33:22; I Kings 19:8 f.). The dark holy of holies of Solomon's temple, with its anteroom, in which a lamp was kept burning and bread and incense were offered, was the counterpart of an ancient Canaanite tomb. The holy trees, standing stones, and altars that stood beside the graves of ancestors were all reconsecrated to the worship of Yahweh (Gen. 12:6 f.; 22:9; 35:8, 20; Deut. 11:30; Josh. 24:26 f.; Judg. 9:4, 37, 46).⁸

Sacrifice is a rite that has meaning only in the cult of the dead. The blood, in which the life of the animal resides, is poured out in order that the shades may drink of it and renew their vigor. Offerings of food and drink are not needed by celestial deities, but are needed by spirits of the dead, and have been offered to them from the earliest times.⁹ It can hardly be doubted that bloody offerings and libations first arose in connection with ancestor-worship, and were afterward extended to the cult of other divinities with whom they had no natural connection. Their primitive association with the dead is

⁷ See *Biblical World*, February, 1910, p. 85.

⁸ See *Biblical World*, January, 1910, p. 18.

⁹ See *Biblical World*, February, 1910, p. 88.

shown by the fact that the blood of the victim was always poured upon the earth, so that it might sink down to the under-world. In many ancient tombs channels were constructed through which blood and libations descended to the buried person. In like manner the old Arabian altar had a *ghabghab*, or pit, beneath it into which blood was poured and offerings were thrown. All such sacrifices and libations for the dead were appropriated by Yahweh. The blood of the slain animal was still poured upon the ground (Exod. 29:12; Lev. 4:7, 18; 17:13; Deut. 12:16), although it was no longer offered to the gods of the under-world. Beneath the altar of Solomon's temple was a channel cut out in the rock to receive the blood, and Elijah dug a trench for the blood around the altar that he constructed on Carmel; yet the sacrifices in both of these cases were rendered to Yahweh. The ritual of the red heifer in Num., chap. 19, bears clear evidence of having been borrowed from the cult of the dead.¹⁰ The same is true perhaps of the goat for Azazel (Lev. 16:26), and of a number of other sacrificial rites that have found a place in the official religion of post-exilic Judaism. From this it appears that everything that was clearly connected with the worship of the dead was already in the preprophetic period claimed by Yahweh as his due.

5. *Rites of the dead that were not clearly acts of worship were still permitted, but they rendered one unclean.*—Burial, and such customs as tearing off the garments, girding on sackcloth, covering the head, making cuttings in the flesh, cutting the hair, covering oneself with dust or ashes, lamentation and fasting¹¹ had lost their primitive religious significance as early as the preprophetic period, and seemed to be merely acts of mourning; consequently these were tolerated by the early Hebrew religion, and no effort was made to take them away from the dead. At the same time it was felt that these ceremonies were in a way connected with "other gods," and therefore rendered one "unclean," i. e., debarred one from taking part in the public worship of Yahweh. Hosea, speaking of the exiles in Egypt and in Assyria, says: "Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted" (Hos. 9:4), and Amos (6:10) says that it is not permitted to make mention of the name

¹⁰ H. P. Smith, in *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1909.

¹¹ *Biblical World*, February, 1910, pp. 80-84.

of Yahweh when bringing a corpse out of a house. In Deut. 26:14 the bringer of the tithe says: "I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I put away thereof being unclean, nor given thereof for the dead." That these rites rendered one "unclean" on account of their association with the cult of the dead, is evident from the technical expression of the Law "unclean for a spirit" (Lev. 21:1, 11; 22:4; Num. 5:2, etc.). In these cases early Yahwism made a compromise with ancestor-worship that it would not make in the case of necromancy and sacrifice to the dead.

B. The Period of the Prophets and the Law (760-400 B.C.)

1. *The activity of the dead was denied.*—The literary prophets from Amos onward differed from their predecessors chiefly in the emphasis that they laid upon the moral character of Yahweh. The earlier seers knew that Yahweh had ethical attributes, but they did not make these fundamental in their conception of him. The literary prophets, however, perceived that righteousness was Yahweh's central attribute. From this it followed that he was different in kind from the gods of other nations, who were destitute of moral qualities. The gods of the heathen, being unethical, were no gods at all. Instead of being *ēlōhîm*, "powers," they were *ēlîlîm*, "feeble ones." Yahweh was the only God, because he alone was holy. Thus for the first time in the history of Israel, theoretical monotheism was attained, not as among other peoples by the avenue of philosophical reflection, but by the avenue of the moral judgment.

The same process by which the "other gods" were degraded from mighty beings, the rivals of Yahweh, to "feeble ones" is seen in the case of spirits of the dead. In preprophetic days they were believed to possess such large powers that the temptation was strong to render them some of the worship due to Yahweh alone;¹² in the prophetic period they were stripped of their energy so completely that they became mere shadows, unable to help or to hurt, to whom it was futile either to pray or to offer sacrifice.

This development shows itself conspicuously in the prophetic denial of the independent vitality of the human soul. In Semitic and early Hebrew anthropology *nejesh* and *rûah* were synonymous

¹² See articles I and II, *Biblical World*, January and February, 1910.

terms for "spirit"; in prophetic anthropology *rûah* was distinguished from *nefesh* as the vital principle and the seat of the higher faculties. It was imparted by God to the *nefesh* during life, but reclaimed by him at death. The germ of this idea is found in the Yahwistic narrative of Gen. 2:7, where Yahweh breathes into man's nostrils the breath of life and he becomes "a living *nefesh*," but the thought is not developed in Hebrew literature until after the Exile. Thus in Isa. 42:5 we read "He giveth breath to the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein; Ps. 104:29 f., "Thou gatherest in their breath, they die, and return to their dust: thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created"; Job 27:3, "My life is yet whole in me, and the spirit of God is in my nostrils"; 32:8, "There is a spirit in man, and the breath of Shaddai giveth them understanding"; 33:4, "The spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of Shaddai giveth me life"; 34:14, "If he gather unto himself his spirit and his breath, all flesh shall perish together"; Eccles. 12:7, "The dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it." In these passages the vitality of the human soul depends so completely upon the indwelling spirit of God, that activity ceases when the divine breath is withdrawn. All individual *rûhôt* are absorbed in the one *rûah* of Yahweh, and all that is left of a man after death is a *nefesh*, or "breath," from which knowledge and feeling have departed. Thus the religion of the prophets cut the root of ancestor-worship by denying the conscious existence of the dead.

In striking contrast to the ancient doctrine which ascribed interest in the living and superhuman powers to the dead, the late prophetic and subsequent literature denies all activity to them. *Abaddon*, "destruction," becomes one of the names of Sheol (Job 26:6; Ps. 88:11; Prov. 15:11; 27:20). In Isa. 38:11, if the text be sound, it is called *hedel*, "cessation." In Ps. 88:12 it is "the land of forgetfulness." Ezekiel 26:21 says of Tyre, when she goes down to Sheol, "I will make thee a destruction, and thou shalt be no more: thou shalt be sought for, yet thou shalt never be found again"; Isa. 63:16, "Thou art our father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us"; Job 7:9-11, "As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more"; Job 14:21, "His sons come to honor, and he knoweth it not;

and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them"; Job 17:15 f., "Where then is my hope? and as for my hope, who shall see it? It shall go down to the bars of Sheol, when once there is rest in the dust"; Ps. 94:17, "Unless Yahweh had been my help, my soul had soon dwelt in silence"; Eccles. 9:5 f., 10, "The living know that they shall die, but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward, for the memory of them is forgotten. As well their love as their hatred and their envy is now perished, neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun. . . . For there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in Sheol, whither thou goest"; Eccles. 30:18 f., "Good things poured upon a mouth that is closed, are as messes of meat laid upon a grave. What can an offering profit a shade, for it can neither eat nor smell"; 38:20-23, "Give not thy heart unto sorrow . . . him thou wilt not profit, and thou wilt hurt thyself. . . . When the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest, and be comforted for him when his spirit departeth from him." Most of these passages are later than the period that we are considering, but they preserve the negative attitude of prophetism toward the existence in Sheol.

The old belief that the dead could not worship Yahweh persisted in this period, but for a different reason. In preprophetic times Yahweh could not be honored in Sheol because his authority did not extend thither, but in prophetic times it was because the dead had not sufficient energy to worship. Thus Ps. 88:11, "Shall thy loving-kindness be declared in the grave, or thy faithfulness in Abaddon? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?" Ps. 115:17, "The dead praise not Yahweh, neither any that go down into silence"; Eccles. 17:27, "Who shall give praise to the Most High in the grave, instead of them which live and return thanks? Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead, as from one that is not: he that is in life and health shall praise the Lord"; Bar. 2:17, "The dead that are in the grave, whose spirit is taken from their bodies, will give unto the Lord neither glory nor righteousness."

These statements must not be taken as an assertion of the annihilation of the soul at death. Disembodied spirits continued to exist, but their existence was empty of content. It was form without

substance. Hence it is frequently compared to the feeble life of the soul in sleep. It is "the eternal sleep" (Jer. 51:39, 57; Ecclus. 46:19 f.). "Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake or be roused out of their sleep" (Job 14:12); "They sleep in the dust of the earth" (Dan. 12:2). "Sleep" in these passages is not understood of the body in the grave, but of the unconscious, emotionless existence of the shades in Sheol.

Like the preprophetic literature, the Prophets and the Law never promise rewards or punishments in the other world. This is not because Yahweh is unable to bestow them, but because the dead are unable to receive them. In their zeal to destroy the last vestiges of ancestor-worship, these writings go so far in their denial of life in Sheol that it becomes impossible for them to develop any doctrine of future retribution. Thus the paradox is explained that the prophetic religion, which was pre-eminently a religion of hope, had no hope of immortality. Over the gate of Sheol, as the prophets conceived it, might have been written the words that Dante saw written over the entrance to Hell, "*Lasciate ogni speranza voi che'ntrate.*"

2. *Yahweh's power extended to Sheol.*—With the recognition of the prophets that Yahweh was the only God, because he alone was righteous, went the belief that he was not limited to the land of Israel, but that the whole world stood under his rule (cf. Amos 1:3—2:3; 9:7). In like manner Sheol was now believed to be included in his realm. "Though they dig into Sheol, thence shall mine hand take them, says the Lord by his prophet (Amos 9:2). The demons of Sheol obey the command of Yahweh (Hos. 13:14). To the unbelieving Ahaz he says, "Ask thee a sign from Yahweh, thy God, going deep unto Sheol" (Isa. 7:11). The wrath of Yahweh reaches even unto the lowest Sheol (Deut. 32:22); his knowledge is deeper than Sheol (Job 11:8); "The shades tremble beneath the waters and the inhabitants thereof. Sheol is naked before him, and Abaddon hath no covering" (Job 26:5 f.); Yahweh knows the recesses of the deep and the gates of death have been revealed unto him (Job 38:16 f.); "If I make my bed in Sheol, behold thou art there" (Ps. 139:8); "Sheol and Abaddon are before Yahweh" (Prov. 15:11).

When Yahweh's power was thus extended to Sheol, it would seem as if the shades might have enjoyed fellowship with him, and as if

there might have been the beginning of a higher doctrine of immortality; but this extension of God's power came too late. In the struggle against ancestor-worship the shades had been stripped so completely of their powers that, although Yahweh was now present among them, his presence did not help. They could not know him, and could not rejoice in his loving-kindness. Yahweh's power over Sheol also made it theoretically possible that he could deliver souls from that dark abode, and bring them back to life; but this doctrine never appears in the period that we are considering. The statement that "Yahweh killeth and maketh alive" (I Sam. 2:6; II Kings 5:7; Deut. 32:39) refers not to resurrection but to recovery from dangerous illness, and the three raisings of the dead that are recorded in pre-exilic times are properly regarded as cases of suspended animation.¹³

3. *The rites of ancestor-worship were eliminated from the worship of Yahweh.*—The literary prophets saw clearly that Yahweh had triumphed over the *bē'ālīm* by appropriating their cults, and that the result had been that in the popular conception Yahweh was no better than a *ba'al* (Hos. 2:16). In their effort to purify the conception of God they insisted that heathen elements should be purged out of the religion of Israel. This movement culminated in the demand of Deuteronomy that the high places, which had originally been seats of the worship of the *bē'ālīm*, should be abolished. These included the graves that in preprophetic times had been transformed into sanctuaries of Yahweh. Henceforth they were forbidden as places of worship (Deut. 12:1-14, etc.). This prohibition was intensified by the doctrine that graves were "unclean," and that they "defiled" one who came in contact with them (Ezek. 43:7 f.; Num. 19:11).¹⁴ In like manner the *maṣṣēbôth*, or "standing stones" upon graves, that had been appropriated to the service of Yahweh in the earlier religion, were repudiated by the religion of the prophets (Deut. 16:22).

4. *The rites of mourning for the dead were restricted.*—The leaders of Hebrew thought felt instinctively that mourning for the dead, though not distinctly worship, was nevertheless closely allied to it; accordingly they bent their efforts to abolish this as far as possible. The process was a gradual one, that first came to clear expression in

¹³ *Biblical World*, March, 1910, p. 171.

¹⁴ *Biblical World*, February, 1910, p. 87.

the Law, and that was never carried through completely. Jeremiah and Ezekiel still regard shaving the head and making cuttings in the flesh as permissible (Jer. 16:6; Ezek. 7:18), but Deut. 14:1 and the Holiness Code (Lev. 19:27 f.; 21:5) prohibit both of these customs. The prophet, who stood in a peculiarly intimate relation with Yahweh, was forbidden to participate in mourning (Jer. 16:5; Ezek. 24:17). In like manner the priest was forbidden to "defile himself for a spirit," except in the case of his nearest kin (Lev. 21:1 f.); and the high priest was forbidden to "defile himself" under any circumstances (Lev. 21:10 f.). The Nazirite also was forbidden to come near a dead body (Num. 6:6 f.). In general, however, the primitive Semitic rites of mourning were too firmly entrenched to be dislodged by the Law, and most of them remained unchanged in later Judaism.

The foregoing discussion has made it clear that the attitude of the religion of Yahweh to the eschatology of the individual, from the days of Moses to the completion of the Law in the post-exilic Priestly Code, was essentially negative. Spirits of the dead, like "strange gods," were at first dangerous rivals of Yahweh, and his adherents labored for their destruction. In this process the dead were deprived of one attribute after another, until at the end of the prophetic-legal development they had become powerless shadows, whose existence was destitute of every element that constituted life. Thus the victory over necrolatry was won, but at the cost of the extinction of even a rudimentary belief in immortality. Primitive Semitic animism had nothing in common with Yahwism, and it was necessary that it should perish before the structure of a better faith could arise. In the next period we shall see how, after the ground had been cleared of heathen conceptions of the other world, a new doctrine of immortality arose, that was not an alien dogma, as the doctrine of Sheol had been, but a genuine product of the religion of Yahweh.

THE GROWTH OF THE MISSIONARY IDEA IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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II. THE POST-EXILIC MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

The exile in Babylon is an event of immense significance for the history of Israel's religion and no doubt casts its shadow over a great part of this ancient literature. But even so we must not look upon it as a new beginning or as a complete severance from the past. The religious life and thought of the people preserved a certain continuity in spite of the violence of the catastrophe, and the fact that its scattered elements were driven in such widely different directions. Soon the Jewish people will have three or more centers instead of one, and that fact whatever influence it may have upon theory will play its part as a preparation for a more universal faith. Now it may be worth while to repeat the statement that the glory of "the progressive revelation" that we possess in the Old Testament is the fact that it grows to ever larger and clearer forms through the living experience of the individual and the nation. It is some centuries later before the book is finally closed, completely set apart and deified as if it had never had anything to do with human life. At the period we are now concerned with, the life was still fresh, pulsating with all the most passionate emotions that man is capable of feeling. The question "How can we sing Jehovah's song in a foreign land?" is not a theoretical one; it came from the hearts of men who felt that their piety and patriotism were one, that their religious worship and modes of thought were rooted in a particular soil and that the crisis through which they were passing must either destroy or enlarge their faith. In individual cases, no doubt, the faith was lost, but through the stress and strain of the conflict the type was ennobled. As a matter of fact the particularistic and the universalistic stream are both sharpened and emphasized in the Jew and in his sacred literature. From this post-exilic literature one can easily prove either of two opposite views by

taking a special class of texts that stand side by side and neglecting the other. Or even without adopting such a crude procedure we may find the opposing tendencies in the same text, and we have to confess that it is difficult to find the highest view quite clear from all limitations. While then the bitter experiences of the Exiles tended to separate the faithful ones from "the world" and helped to define for them more clearly the idea of the kingdom of God, it also quickened thoughts concerning the separateness and sacredness of the individual life and the spirituality of sacrifice which have a distinctly universal or missionary tendency. It is of the very heart of the missionary faith that the true gospel can be translated into all tongues and the real sacrifice offered in any place. This the Jew began to learn, after the Exile, not from any theoretical course of instruction but from the deepest needs of his own life. He was thrown out into the world and carried his religion and literature with him. The idea of the salvation of the individual from hell, a motive till quite recently made prominent in missionary appeals, did not play any part in pre-Christian times.

This missionary movement consisted in the scattering of a people and the preservation of a literature. The very fact that the Jew in exile, cut off from temple and altar, was thrown back upon such literature as he possessed was itself distinctly favorable to missionary work. The character of the literature stood the test; it was sustenance and inspiration in the dark hour. Proving its power for these men it showed its power for more general human service. Had the Jew remained in Palestine, possessing any considerable extent of territory, and accepted the Deuteronomic doctrine of one temple and altar, the Book and the school would gradually have acquired a larger power and played a larger part. But the Exile hastened this process, and these things which would have been in the homeland real helps in the sphere of religion became for Jews in Babylon and Egypt an absolute necessity. The two great missionary religions, Mohammedanism and Christianity, are religions of the Book, and each in their own way claim connection with and use the Old Testament Scriptures. We cannot then speak of these Jews as a mere sect; in their selection of literature for survival they showed a catholic temper and have given us a book that is, though small in quantity, comprehensive in its scope and human in its spirit, embodying the

fear and skepticism as well as the faith and hope of struggling men. This much, at any rate, is certain that from the Exile onward the Jew became more distinctly a man of the great world in commerce, in literature, and to some degree in missionary work. He was to a large extent cut off from the soil and his attentions turned more fully to trade and literature. The trader renders service in bringing nations into closer relationship with each other; freer trade may mean kindlier feelings and a more easy interchange of ideas. The Jew driven into the region of trade has often been despised as a selfish schemer, but even there he rendered service to humanity as well as gained his own living. Today one of the greatest missionary movements would be to bring more of the spirit of Jesus Christ into the commercial relations of classes and nations. The Christian missionaries will have a better time when there is not such a deep division between sacred preaching and "secular" practice.

The further advance in literature took a more universal tone, the so-called "Wisdom Literature," the literature of reflection, is less national and more human in its spirit. The Proverbs, many of the Psalms, Job, and Ecclesiastes deal with subjects of large universal interest; they appeal to humanity and not merely to the Jew. The forms in which these subjects are presented still have a Jewish twist and in most cases it is a twist that the Jews possess in common with mankind. On the selfish side, the desire for ease, the demand for "profit," the Jew has much in common with other men and he finds that on the nobler side—the desire for light, the hunger for love, the hope of immortality—he is in sympathy with the great souls of other nations. So, on the whole, while the Jewish church is forced in this later period to shelter itself behind a hard shell of its exclusiveness and to fight a fierce battle for its own existence and the preservation of its sacred literature, the growth of literature and the school tends to keep alive the spirit which is ready for the dissemination of truth and the reception of ideas. As to the individual Jew he thus became a missionary in spite of himself. The translation of his Bible into Greek, beginning more than two centuries before the Christian era, was meant in the first place simply to satisfy the religious needs of the Greek-speaking Jews, but it was an event of more than local significance. It brought that fruitful literature into the great current

of the world's life and prepared for the admission into Judaism of large transforming thoughts of God and the world, so that when the great struggle came which set the Christian gospel free from local Judaism and for the world-wide mission, that great service was rendered by men who had read the message of Hebrew prophets and poets in their Greek form. The Jewish synagogue or chapel in the varied centers of Greek and Roman life was a missionary center, even if not aggressively evangelistic in tone. If the teacher did not go to outsiders in pleading, persuasive tones, telling of Jehovah's righteousness and love, those who were curious or eager could "come and see," and we have it on good authority that these, as a rule, belonged to the class of noble truth-seeking souls. These synagogues were evidently, though in a small measure, that which the church ought to be in all ages, centers of spiritual attraction, lights shining in the dark places.

This brief statement of the facts shows that after the Exile the Hebrew nation lost its political independence and importance, only to be regained for one brief brilliant period, but at the same time its scattered members and the influence of its sacred literature began to exert a more powerful effect in those centers of intellectual and religious thought which were destined to rule the future centuries; and further that this influence while distinctly Jewish contained elements which may fairly be classed as missionary in their character. We must now turn back and close the subject by noting the complex character of this literature.

If by a missionary standpoint we mean an absolute spiritual monotheism free from all national and ecclesiastical limitation, with clear comprehension and acceptance of the divine command, "Go ye into all the world and make disciples of all nations," then we have to confess that this was never reached in the Old Testament; but in all fairness we must add that it has been very difficult for the Christian church to reach it. Much of the old tribalism has been carried over into varied forms of ecclesiastical Christianity, and with other Jewish and pagan survivals has shown a remarkable tenacity.

Still the Old Testament, at its nobler heights, shows us a spirit struggling with these limitations and stretches forth outspread hands and a longing gaze to a richer future. In passages of the type of Isa. 2:2-4; Mic. 4:1-4 we have a missionary idea. The mountain

of Jehovah's house is to be established in the top of the mountains—and *all nations* shall flow unto it. Many peoples are heard saying:

Come ye, let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah,
To the house of the God of Jacob;
And he will teach us of his ways,
And we will walk in his paths;
For out of Zion shall go forth the law
And the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem.

We are not now concerned with the promise of universal peace which here as elsewhere is an important feature in the picture of the final days of blessing. What we have to emphasize is the fact that here the nations, all of them, come of their own accord to Jerusalem because it is the seat of a pure worship and the source of a righteous law. Further, this law or teaching, though we are not told by what means, shall go forth from Jerusalem. This implies a consciousness of possessing a higher truth and nobler religion than was elsewhere available, and if we take the Hebrew religion at its highest, as we ought in all fairness to do, we may confidently say that history has amply vindicated this claim, while reproving in the name of the Christ the temper in which it is sometimes made. The thought of the inherent attractiveness of a great religion is surely an aspect of the missionary idea which is of permanent value. No amount of elaborate organization or noisy aggressiveness will compensate for the lack of this. True, there is a higher stage when men are prompted to go out into the dark places and carry the light of life with them; but when men had not yet reached the thought that the highest revelation can be separated from the earthly Jerusalem it was a noble vision to think of the God-given truth as by its very splendor passing beyond the city walls and even the national boundaries, dazzling the eyes of needy strangers, and drawing their wistful gaze toward that mountain, the city of the great King. Let us hold fast then to this great truth, that the highest religion in its very nature is a winsome, attractive force. The righteousness of Jehovah manifesting itself among his people and spreading peace in the world: this is surely a permanent element in the missionary idea. It gives the heathen whom we seek to evangelize a right to ask whether the glorious gospel which we proclaim in such tones is a working force in our national life and personal experience.

Another striking and typical passage is found in that late section of Isa., chaps. 24-27:

And Jehovah of hosts will prepare for all peoples on this mountain a feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wine on the lees well refined. And he will destroy the face of the covering that is cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations. And the Lord Jehovah will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth. For Jehovah hath spoken it.

We have omitted the line that promises the swallowing up of death for ever, as it is probably not an original element of this beautiful little song. The special feature of Jehovah's future manifestation here dwelt upon is the conquest of sorrow in which *all peoples* are to share but which is to take place in this mountain, i. e., Jerusalem. It is likely the veil is not the covering of prejudice which hinders men from seeing the beauties of the Law, but rather the veil which hides the face of the figure which represents the nations. Jehovah lifts the veil and lo, there are tears which must be wiped away before the invited guest can come to the banquet table. Here we have a mighty faith that the God of Israel has rich revelations still in store, that he will prepare a noble banquet for the hungry and sorrowful peoples. But the banquet must be spread on "*this mountain*," Jehovah's chosen sanctuary. This great hope here expressed in what was for those days a broad catholic spirit has still its local limitation. But when we look at such passages sympathetically we have no difficulty in declaring that this noble inconsistency was unavoidable and that only those who are quite destitute of the historical sense can fail to realize that here we have a widening outlook due to a conviction that the greatest things cannot be the monopoly of a sect.

When we turn to Zechariah's wonderful vision of "the city without a wall" (2:1-5) and read it in the light of the later history, as briefly sketched at the beginning of this article, though we know that the prophet could not see that history in detail, yet we cannot help marveling that the form in which he expresses his message can so easily be used to express the actual development. His idea of a city without a wall is a bold one and must have seemed daring if not absurd to his contemporaries, for in those days the wall was an essential feature of a city, and the lives of men were encompassed by separating walls

of many kinds. In a different and wider sense than the prophet dreamed of, Jerusalem was in later days spread out like open villages throughout the world of that day. The real Jerusalem, the faith, the teaching for which that name rightly stands, was scattered by the synagogues and then after many struggles sent freely out into the great current of the world's life. But the suggestion that the real boundary of God's city is not a material man-made wall, but the invisible divine presence, comes within the circle of missionary ideas and speaks, if unconsciously, of the breaking-down of monopolies.

It is, however, in the section of scripture now known as Deutero-Isaiah that these thoughts reach their loftiest height and their noblest form of expression (Isa., chaps. 40-50). Fortunately we are not called upon to discuss the collective or individual interpretation of the servant-passages, as in either case the ideal is there. The election of the servant is clearly an election to service. Such a passage as, "And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen and vine-dressers" (61:5), shows how difficult it was then even for men of faith, as now, to live at that lofty height. But to the author of this remarkable section it is almost his native air. He has been well called "the evangelist of the Old Testament," for the evangel is not a mere form of words, it is a message of comfort from God breathing a spirit of tenderness and hope.

In 42:1-4, for example, we have set forth in clear terms and wide prophetic hope the ideal of the true teacher and the highest kind of missionary. We cannot quote at length or discuss in detail the great poem of the suffering servant (52:13-53:12) but we are justified in saying with regard to it that, on any interpretation, the thought of vicarious suffering takes on then a higher, more ethical tone, and when a truth reaches such a lofty height it qualifies itself to pass beyond national limitations; it looks forward to a time when it shall be recognized and received by all men of clear spiritual vision. If we may accept the collective idea, Israel the servant of the nations, which finds favor with so many scholars, then we have a missionary idea quite pronounced in its character. The leaders of thought in Israel have now learned that there is one God unique in power and righteousness, that he is the ever-present creator, the moving force of the world's history, the Redeemer of his people; that he has ordained

the Persian emperor to deliver his people, and trained that people to minister to the higher life of the world. All this is expressed with passionate feeling and poetic form by the great prophet of the Exile. It would be too much to expect that the average Jew can all at once rise to this sublimest height of self-abnegation, especially when he has to face centuries of scornful persecution from an ignorant and unbelieving world. But when such a vision has once been reached it cannot be lost completely. The vision of sacrifice and service is a prophecy in its incompleteness and need of fulfilment as well as in its comparative perfection and great advance.

Thus we come to the conclusion that in the Old Testament literature we can discern the growth of a missionary idea, great in its range and containing a complexity of elements, which forms a real preparation for the Christian gospel and the noblest kind of Christian work. The great advantage of this literature over other sacred books is that it shows the growth of the central truths of religion moving from stage to stage in a living process which by its wonderful connection with human life and its inward harmony approves itself to the highest intelligence as a manifestation of God. This body of truth looks forward to a time when its loftiest principles shall be carried forward to their true goal and its temporary elements shall be left behind. The severest student of Old Testament exegesis and the most consistent historical critic is often startled to find how germinal, how prophetic, are some of the simplest sayings. We do not need to read our dogmas into this ancient literature or seek to glorify it by an outworn allegorical method; we need simply to allow a true religious sympathy and chastened imagination free play. Then may we enter into the heart of that great movement, with its ebb and flow, its ever-widening stream of truth, and its ever-narrowing ecclesiastical form. And then we shall find that within the exclusiveness of national and ecclesiastical feeling and behind the pedantry of dry rabbinism there is preserved for the world a priceless treasure, a literature which enshrines in forms that the world will not willingly let die a real missionary idea, an idea of God and an aspiration toward a broader faith only to be fulfilled when the old tribalism has been conquered and Jehovah of Hosts is transformed into the Father of mankind.

AND HE BELIEVED IN JEHOVAH AND HE RECKONED IT TO HIM FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS

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This is a twin-text of "The Just shall Live by Faith," discussed in the *Biblical World* for January. These texts, according to the writers of the New Testament, are the most important statements of the function of faith found in the Old Testament. Taken together they furnish a sound basis for some of the definitions of faith which lie beneath the discussions of the New Testament.

Abraham's life is a kind of source-book of Jewish history, literature, and doctrine. Its narrative of his experiences, of glimpses of his outer and inner life, of his aggressive energy, of his devotion to Jehovah as the God of the Hebrews, furnish random examples of the fruitage which may be expected from a life based upon principles of righteousness. Rabbinical schools and scholars gave Abraham first place in their "hall of fame," and his conduct and words the chief seats in their synagogal discussions. Abraham was their model, and his life almost their ideal.

The context of our verse is the background upon which we must take its measurement. The fifteenth chapter of Genesis opens with an assurance on the part of Jehovah that must certainly set at rest the anxiety of Abram. In a vision Jehovah appeared to Abram and said: "Fear not, Abram: I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward" (vs. 1). "Do not be anxious about the future, for I shall defend thee, and shall largely reward thee for leaving thy native land at my call." Abram then reveals what has been troubling him and causing him to fear for the future. He has no child, and a foreigner, Eliezer the Damascene, is to be his heir. Jehovah quickly dispels this delusion with these words: "This man shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own body shall be thine heir" (vs. 4). Then as if to reassure him of the certain fulfilment and perpetuation of the promise, Abram is led forth on a starry

night, and told to look at the brilliantly clear heavens of that eastern land, and to count the number of stars if he is able, and it is added: "So shall thy seed be" (vs. 5). After this marvelous display of shining stars in confirmation of the promise of Jehovah, the writer says: "And he believed in Jehovah; and he reckoned it to him for righteousness" (vs. 6). Abram (so he is called in this chapter) accepted this as truth and believed that Jehovah would fulfil to him this promise, in spite of the fact that all present appearances discounted such a possibility. This belief of Abram, this trust in the word of Jehovah, is credited to him for righteousness.

The Jewish schools in the so-called "interbiblical period" probably held some definite opinion on this phase of Abraham's life. Mattathias, the father of the Maccabean leaders, in his dying message to his sons (I Macc. 2:52) says: "Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness?" Ecclesiasticus in calling the roll of famous men in Israel's history, says of Abraham: "who kept the law of the Most High . . . and when he was proved he was found faithful." In both of these passages the writers had in mind Abraham's command to offer up Isaac (Gen. 22:1), and thus based their conclusion on "works" rather than on "faith" as embodied in Gen. 15:6. The Jewish interpretation of that period is echoed and practically indorsed by James when he says (2:21-23): "Was not Abraham our father justified by works when he offered Isaac his son upon the altar?" His compliance with God's command was then the basis of his righteousness or faith. It was a righteousness or faith built on obedience to law or command, hence a righteousness of works rather than of faith.

The next notable interpreter of Abraham's career was Philo, the Alexandrian philosopher (20 B.C.-42 A.D.) who sought to fuse and harmonize Hebrew religious thought with Greek philosophy. In at least ten passages he discusses the different clauses and ideas of our text. Lightfoot (*Galatians*, pp. 159 ff.) has made a careful study of these passages, covering several pages of his commentary, the pith of which is freely used in the following treatment. Philo, like Paul, his later contemporary, once or twice comments on the second clause of the verse, the imputation of righteousness to Abraham. Occa-

sionally faith is co-ordinated with piety, or is regarded as the reward rather than the source of a godly life. But generally faith is supreme in his theology. Thackeray (*The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, pp. 91 ff.) gives apt quotations from five of Philo's works in which he discusses Gen. 15:6. Here are translations of some of his words: "To trust in God alone is the work of a great and stupendous intellect. And it is well said that his faith was counted for righteousness, for there is nothing so right (or just) as pure faith in God alone." "Perfect confidence in God is the sole work of righteousness." "Praise is given to Abraham in Scripture because he believed God, a thing which may be said in a very brief space, but the successful achievement of which is the greatest of things. For in what else should one put one's trust? Not in high position, wealth, health, etc.; all these are uncertain and deceitful. Faith in God then is the only sure and infallible good, . . . the entire amelioration of the soul, which leans for support on Him who is the cause of all things, who is able to do all things and willeth to do those which are most excellent." Other passages also speak of faith as "the most perfect of virtues," and "the queen of virtues."

The writers of the New Testament next deserve attention. Our text is quoted by Paul (Rom. 4:3, 9, 22 and Gal. 3:6) and once by James (2:23). The latter is discussing the relation of works to faith. After making some plain bold statements he proceeds (vss. 20, 24): "But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith apart from works is barren? Was not Abraham our father justified by works, in that he offered up Isaac his son upon the altar? Thou seest that faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect; and the scripture was fulfilled which saith, And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness; and he was called the friend of God. Ye see that by works a man is justified, and not only by faith." On the other hand, Paul is arguing the simultaneous presence of the law and of faith, and the fact that neither excludes the other (Rom. 3:31). He is meeting an imaginary objector (Sanday-Headlam, *ad. loc.*, pp. 97 f.) who claims special merit in the great acts of Abraham. Paul replies (vss. 2, 3): "If Abraham was justified by works, he hath whereof to glory; but not toward God. For what saith the Scripture? And Abraham believed

God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness." Then as further illuminating the thought he goes on (vss. 4, 5): "Now to him that worketh, the reward is not reckoned as of grace, but as of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness." Farther on in the argument Paul says (vss. 8, 9): "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not reckon sin. Is this blessing then pronounced upon the circumcision, or upon the uncircumcision also? for we say, To Abraham his faith was reckoned for righteousness." Paul further appeals to Abraham's belief in the promise of posterity (vs. 18), and especially of the birth of a son, Isaac (vss. 19-21), and adds (vs. 22): "Wherefore also it was reckoned unto him for righteousness." Paul stands by the apparent meaning of the Genesis passage, and speaks of trustful reliance on God's grace as the basis of righteousness. James on the other hand, takes the view current in the rabbinical schools of his day, and adopts the general tenor of the life of the patriarch as a basis of his interpretation of the text. The life of Abraham shows that on the occasion of the offering of Isaac, action and obedience were facts, and these constituted the perfection of his faith, the basis of the righteousness which was credited to him.

It is not probable that James was issuing a rebuttal to Paul's doctrine of faith, nor that Paul was aiming at that of James. Each was speaking from a different point of view, from different experiences in practical life, and from different estimates of the value of the teachings of the religious schools of the Rabbis. Sanday (*Romans*, p. 104) sums up the matter in few words: "It [the apparent variance in teaching] does not amount to more than the fact that both quote the same verse, Gen. 15:6, and both treat it with reference to the antithesis of works and faith."

Paul's use of Gen. 15:6 in Gal. 3:6 may be understood by an examination of the context. Vs. 5 reads: "He therefore that supplieth to you the spirit, and worketh miracles among (marg. *in*) you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" Really the answer to this question is presupposed. It would be: "By faith, of course; it was so with Abraham;" "even as Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness." This quotation is followed by a discussion of the comparative merits

of the law and of faith, in their efficaciousness for man before God. Paul's use therefore of this text, both in Romans and in Galatians, is practically one and the same.

Turning now to the apostolic age, to the rabbinical schools of this period, we discover another interpretation of our text. Abraham's life and history form an important place in all their discussions. The book of Second Esdras, assigned to that age, carries several striking statements on faith. In the last days, "the land shall be barren of faith" (5:1); eternal life shall be the possession of those who "have gathered faith for a treasure" (6:5). The wicked "have not been faithful to his statutes, and have not performed his works" (7:24). Punishment can be averted by him "who shall be able to escape by his works or by faith whereby he hath believed" (9:7.) God watches over those "who have works and faith toward the Almighty" (13:23).

In the *Mechilta*, in a second-century Midrash (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 162) there are several references to these faith-texts of the Old Testament. Under the comments on Exod. 14:31 we read: "Great is faith whereby Israel believed on him that spake and the world was. . . . Abraham our father inherited this world and the world to come solely by the merit of faith whereby he believed in the Lord. . . . Only as a reward for their faith were the Israelites redeemed out of Egypt, for it said, 'and the people believed.' . . . What is the cause of David's joy (Ps. 91:1)? It is the reward of faith, whereby our fathers believed."

The terms used and the definitions given seem to be almost identical with those of the New Testament writings. Yet it is not always safe to infer that the inner content was the same, for with different ideas as a background the same words may convey quite different meanings.

The Judaism represented in these quotations is voiced in the statement, "We are Abraham's sons, we have Abraham to our father." This was a protest against the selfish isolation of the positions of Philo of Alexandria, and they classed themselves as a community, a brotherhood, ruled by the same laws and ideas. Right here, says Lightfoot (*Galatians*, p. 163) Paul and rabbinical Judaism meet on a par. But more than this one cannot affirm. The Rabbis insisted on a rigorous observance of outward ordinances, while Paul regarded

it as a spiritual state, a firm dependence on God. Paul claimed to be a son of Abraham, not of flesh and blood, but of the spirit. Abraham's sons, according to Paul, were those who inherited Abraham's faith.

The modern interpretation of this passage in Genesis takes a very practical turn and touches directly the life of every believer. Abraham faced an apparent impossibility. God had promised him a posterity (Gen. 12:2), a great nation. But Sarah had had no child, and was now past age. God's promise had not been fulfilled. Abraham became fearful of the future, that his family would be extinguished, that the accumulations of a lifetime would be inherited by an alien. When his faith in God was stormed by such doubts, and in anxiety and confusion was about to surrender, God came to him in a vision, and checked his wavering faith by, "Fear not, Abram." The patriarch's doubts had gone so far as to throw out God's promise of a son, and to look for a substitute fulfilment of some kind. He is now not only reassured that he shall have a son, but that his posterity shall be as numerous as the stars of the heavens. After this vision our text is added by the author of Genesis.

Abraham "believed in," trusted in, had faith in, the promise of Jehovah and dismissed his doubts and fears. His belief—trust and faith in Jehovah—was credited to him for righteousness. It was reckoned as equal to, as in the place of, "righteousness." There was no "law" which he should obey and no works that he should perform, in order to validate this belief, trust, or faith in Jehovah that his promise should be fulfilled. It was not necessary that Abraham should be made perfect, that his human nature should be sanctified, in order that he should be credited with righteousness. This faith of an imperfect human being in One who promised a seemingly impossible thing is reckoned as equivalent to a life of perfect obedience to law. This was one of the foregleams of the free grace of the gospel based solely on faith in the promises of God. With all our doubts and fears and imperfections, "belief in him that justifieth the ungodly" (Rom. 4:5) is reckoned for righteousness, and we have here the germ of the Christian scheme of faith.

JESUS' WORK IN GALILEE: THE BEGINNINGS OF OPPOSITION¹

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Jesus' earlier ministry is characterized by the preponderance of works of healing over teaching. The healing ministry of the Master has never yet been adequately treated. Its extent is little realized. Even a little study of the events of those early days surprises us in their revelation of the nature, frequency, extent, and significance of his beneficent activity (Mark 1:21-34, 39; 2:1-12; 11:4-5; Luke 5:12-26; 7:2-17; Matt. 8:1-17; 8:28-34; 9:1-8; 9:18-35; John 4:46-54; 5:1-9).

Whatever the fundamental purpose of these works of healing power, one thing is very evident from the records—they attracted large crowds to the Master and lifted him high upon the wave of a great popularity. The cumulative force of the many statements made by the evangelists regarding this result of Jesus' miracles is exceedingly impressive (Mark 1:33, 37, 45; 2:2, 13; 3:7-12; Luke 4:14, 15, 42; 5:1, 15, 17; 7:17; Matt. 4:24, 25; 8:16; 9:8, 31, 36).

The popularity thus achieved by Jesus had two very far-reaching results. On the one hand, it so increased his work that he was led to select and systematically train a band of disciples who should multiply his effectiveness in dealing with the physical and spiritual needs of the multitudes that thronged about him. On the other hand, the numbers in the crowds drawn to Jesus and their growing enthusiasm for him awoke the envy and fear of the Jewish religious leaders and led them to organize definitely to counteract his influence and ultimately to compass his death.

This opposition to Jesus was not a sudden thing. It was gradual,

¹ This study covers the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for May 15, 22, 29, and June 5.

and its growth, a marked characteristic of these early days, is deserving of more than passing notice as an understanding of it is necessary to an intelligent grasp of later events.

The Jerusalem Pharisees were the self-constituted censors of all religious movements among their own people, not initiated by themselves. They had sent an investigating committee to John the Baptist during the early days of his ministry to inquire into his history, the nature of his message, and the validity of his credentials (John 1:19-28). This same critical, suspicious attitude met Jesus as he began his public ministry introduced by John and, at first, voicing John's message. From this time to the death of Jesus we may trace a gradual transformation in the attitude of the Pharisees and scribes from natural suspicion and silent criticism, through irritation, envy, and anger, to open criticism, covert and open attack, and foul conspiracy. Much is revealed in the plain statements of the record, but much more can be read between the lines.

If we accept the two cleansings of the temple as recorded in John 2:13-22 and Mark 11:15-19, we have in the former the *beginning* of Pharisaic antagonism to Jesus. His act of reforming zeal in driving out the temple desecrators was not only an attack upon these offenders but also an attack upon the priests who profited by the sales in the temple courts and a virtual rebuke of the religious leaders whose duty it was to keep God's house sacred and who had neither the courage nor the piety to remove these abominations themselves. That an upstart from Galilee should thus force them into public humiliation was bad enough; that he thus assumed messianic prerogatives, was unpardonable effrontery and a challenge, while his mystifying reply to their demand for a sign did not tend to placate their rising irritation. This bold young fanatic would bear watching.

The only other direct reference we have to the opposition of the Pharisees of Jerusalem during this early period that closes with the crisis at Capernaum after the feeding of the five thousand occurs in connection with the healing of the infirm man at the pool on the Sabbath (John 5:1-47). Because Jesus broke the Sabbath and also made himself equal with God, the Jews persecute him and seek to kill him (John 5:16-18). Some explanation is necessary regarding the cause for this seemingly sudden and unreasonable determination

upon Jesus' death. We find it in the history of his recorded relations with the Pharisees and scribes *outside* of Jerusalem with whom, however, the Jerusalem leaders were in close communication.

Shortly after the inauguration of Jesus' work in Capernaum we find Jesus in conflict with the authorities upon the occasion of the healing of the paralytic (Matt. 9:2-8; and parallels). A committee is on the spot to watch the Master's actions and note his utterances. Evidently this committee is a special arrangement of the *Jerusalem* authorities, as Luke informs us that "there were Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by which were come out of every village of Galilee, and Judea and Jerusalem" (Luke 5:17). Jesus' claim to the power of forgiving sin awakens within their minds the charge of blasphemy against him, though the charge is not uttered, while the actual cure of the afflicted man put forward by Jesus as a proof of his power in the spiritual realm fails to convince those who do not want to be convinced and only confirms them in the belief that Jesus is a dangerous character.

About the same time Jesus offends the social taste and the ceremonial usage of the Pharisees in Galilee by eating with publicans and sinners, the disreputable folk of the time. By thus flying in the face of the dictates of current etiquette and religion Jesus incurs grave displeasure (Matt. 9:9-13), and provokes an attempt on the part of the Pharisees to discredit him with his disciples (Mark 2:16). It is only a short while after this event that we find the Pharisees sending on its blighting way this bit of gossip with its dangerous half-truth—"He is a gluttonous man, a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners" (Matt. 11:19).

But it is Jesus' fine disregard of traditional customs that had lost their real significance which precipitates matters in Galilee as also in Judea. The failure of Jesus and his disciples to observe the customary fasts, which even John's disciples observed, awakens a questioning which has within it a charge of disrespect, irreverence, and disobedience to age-long custom (Matt. 9:14-17). For the disciples of Jesus to neglect these facts was bad enough, but for Jesus, esteemed a rabbi, to justify the neglect was startling and most reprehensible. Nor was this all. In the parables of the patches and the wine skins, spoken in connection with this event, Jesus in effect

tells them that fasting may be a good thing for John and for them with their spirit and their beliefs. "I, however, have come to bring a *new* spirit into religious life and that spirit must find its own forms of expression. You cannot mix the two" (Matt. 9:16, 17). They understood him, as he intended that they should, to set himself against the current forms of religious life, and this, on the part of a popular leader, they resented and opposed.

More important to the Pharisee and scribe than fasting was the keeping of the Sabbath. This was distinctive of the Jewish religious life. In the effort to separate the Jews most completely from the gentiles the Sabbath command had received an infinite number of burdensome and meaningless applications. The Pharisees prided themselves upon the punctilious observance of these multitudinous rules and made their strict observance the test of a man's religious life. They watched very closely, therefore, this man who so fearlessly rode over their traditions in other respects. The opportunity for criticism here soon came. His disciples were walking through a cornfield on the Sabbath day and being hungry pulled some of the grain (a phase of threshing, and so illegal) and ate (Matt. 12:1-8). The Pharisees complain to Jesus who heartily justifies his disciples in the violation of the letter of the law, appealing to an event in David's life and to the case of priests who labor on the Sabbath in the temple as occasions when the letter of the law was violated. These actions were not only allowed but approved. It angered the Pharisees to have the heart thus taken out of their charge but more still to have Jesus put himself and his disciples on the same plane with David, the Lord's anointed, and with the priests of the temple. When, however, he went even farther and declared that the Sabbath was made for man's benefit and not the reverse, which idea their burdensome rules implied, and that he, the Son of Man (itself a messianic claim), was lord also of the Sabbath, we can imagine that their rage knew no bounds.

A little later, perhaps the very next Sabbath, a special committee of the scribes and Pharisees is waiting at the synagogue for the purpose of finding further evidence against Jesus (Matt. 12:9-14). Jesus, seeing them in their critical mood and also seeing a man near by in great physical need, boldly forces the issue. He anticipates

any criticism by asking them the direct question: "Is it legal on the Sabbath day to do good or to do harm?" (Mark 3:4). They found themselves caught on a very uncomfortable dilemma and they had the humiliation of keeping silence or facing a worse humiliation by attempting an answer. The appeal Jesus then made to their moral sense in its right to interpret the Sabbath command fell short because their hearts were "hardened." For the first time, so far as any record is concerned, Jesus is angry with them (Mark 3:5), and they, too, are filled with madness (Luke 6:11). They leave the synagogue, hunt up the Herodians, erstwhile their enemies—a party of Jews in favor of the Herodian rule—and together they lay their plans for putting Jesus out of the way. Matters have now reached the same crisis in Galilee as in Judea, the Pharisees and scribes are determined upon the death of Jesus (John 5:17; Matt. 12:14).

Thus far we have noted only the direct references to the antagonism of the Pharisees and scribes. Other events, however, occurred which had great influence in intensifying the hatred that finally determined upon Jesus' death. Time and space permit only an enumeration of the more significant of these facts—the choice of the publican Matthew, a hated tax-collector, to be one of Jesus' disciples (Matt. 9:9-15); the inauguration of a religious movement by Jesus without consulting them in the matter; the very choice of *twelve* men so easily symbolic of the twelve tribes awakened suspicion (Mark 3:13-19); the nature of the kingdom which he preached so different in its spiritual essence from the mechanical, material, and political conception they held and advanced (Matt., chaps. 5-7, and elsewhere); his unhesitant and sympathetic relations with the Samaritans (John, chap. 4) and with the gentiles (Matt. 8:5-13); his claim of superiority to Moses and tradition (Matt., chap. 5), and of messiahship as indirectly made by his act of cleansing the temple (John 2:13-22); his usage of the term "Son of Man," applying it to himself (Matt. 8:20; 9:6; 12:8), and his reference to messianic prophecy as fulfilled in his own ministry (Luke 4:16-21); his warnings against the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees and the evident charges of unreality, evasion, ostentation, hypocrisy in their religion (Matt., chaps. 6, 7); his definite, direct attacks upon them (John 5:42 ff.); his comparison of the gentile faith with that of the Jews to the Jews'

discredit, and the picture of the future kingdom which he drew in which the hated gentile is seated with the Jewish patriarchs at the great feast while the "sons of the kingdom" are excluded (Matt. 8:5-13). Nothing is directly said in our records thus far that any one of these facts actually occasioned opposition, but, human nature being as it is, we may be sure that it was just such facts as these which materially aided in the development of the opposition of the Pharisees from an attitude of critical inquiry to one of determined and murderous antagonism, and which supply the missing links of what otherwise might seem a sudden development.

All of these facts, direct and indirect, are made more significant by the added fact of Jesus' great and growing popularity with the people. To the Pharisee, who saw plainly the issue, it was a conflict between an age-long, revered system and a powerful, fanatic, resourceful, and dangerous man.

With this situation in mind we turn to the events narrated in Matt. 12:22-45. This man who claims religious leadership so authoritatively, who draws and holds such large crowds about him and from them gains disciples both by his gracious words of authority unlike that of the scribes and Pharisees and also by his marvelous deeds of love and sympathy, arouses fresh enthusiasm by healing completely and immediately a man both blind and dumb. The multitude marvels, and the question rises spontaneously, "Is this the Messiah?" Nor is this the first time that this idea has risen in the minds of the thoughtful. They, as well as the Pharisees, remember the announcement with which John greeted Jesus on Jordan's banks, "Behold, the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world" (John 1:29); Andrew, one of the multitude of Galilee, had spread the news to others besides his brother Peter: "We have found the Messiah" (John 1:41); even where his messiahship had not been affirmed he had been greeted as "a great prophet" (Luke 7:16) in whose ministry God had revealed himself. Nor were the cries of demonized men without their influence upon the inflammable material of the oriental mind: "Thou art the Son of God" (Luke 4:41) and "the Holy One of God" (Mark 1:24). This question then raised in the presence of the Pharisees, "Is this the Messiah?" demanded an answer. What shall they say? The miracle

can neither be denied nor explained away. They conclude to do the only thing their stubbornness and hatred can do. "Yes, the deed is wonderful! But it does not prove Jesus to be the Messiah using God's power. Far from it. It clearly shows he is in league with the prince of devils. Not God but Beelzebub is the power behind this man. Shun him, therefore, lest he use this devilish power on you." Such is the meaning of the reply of the Pharisees.

The weakness of the statement is clearly seen by the multitude in whose estimation the Pharisees by such arguments lose ground; nevertheless Jesus takes advantage of the opportunity the challenge afforded to expose further the extremity to which the Pharisees had come and to point out their great spiritual danger. With calmness and yet with intensity he exposes their real nature to themselves and to the listening crowd: "Ye offspring of vipers! Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. What then must be the moral depravity and wickedness out from which these blasphemies of yours have issued!" (Matt. 12:34).

This incident marks the first great open break between Jesus and the Pharisees. We have heard mutterings of the approaching storm and seen an occasional lightning flash, but now the fury is on and will be on until it expends itself at the cross. Jesus evidently tries no more to win the Pharisee and scribe. In fact when next we find them demanding a sign from him (Matt. 12:38-45) he does not argue nor deal gently but absolutely refuses, and with great feeling calls upon them, the religious leaders, to *repent* in the presence of One—himself—who is greater than Jonah in whose presence Nineveh repented, and greater than Solomon to whose words of wisdom even the Queen of Sheba attended. Here, too, he utters his first cry of doom against the evil generation to which they belonged. There is no healing of the breach after this, but a settled and increasingly intense warfare. The opposition of the Pharisees to Jesus thus begun is the most significant of all the antagonism he experienced. Yet there were other phases of opposition which he encountered that are worthy of note.

From within his own family and from among his own friends he receives opposition. Coming to believe that Jesus was mentally unbalanced because of his excessive zeal and his labor-filled hours

which left him hardly time to eat, they endeavor to restrain him in his work and to get him away from it (Mark 3:20, 21). From this time on he, no doubt, found his work among the people somewhat handicapped by their knowledge of the fact that his own relatives deemed him crazy. Undoubtedly, too, this had considerable bearing upon his attitude and words at the time the message was brought to him that his mother and brethren were asking for him (Matt. 12:46-50; Mark 3:31-35).

Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, the one who had permitted the murder of John the Baptist, hears of Jesus about this time and seeks to see him (Matt. 14:1-12; Luke 9:9). On the surface, his reason seems to be that of curious speculation, but Luke 13:31, 32 shows that his intentions were deadly and thus in Herod, the reigning ruler and representative of political power, we have another element in the gathering and growing opposition which Jesus himself recognized.

One more and perhaps the most disheartening source of opposition is revealed in Matt. 14:13-23 and parallels. In spite of the opposition of scribes, Pharisees, relatives, Herod, and the Herodians, Jesus steadily gains popularity with the multitudes; his very attitude toward the scribes and Pharisees, hated by the common people, wins the allegiance of many. Wherever he goes a great crowd follows. He attempts to go with his disciples into a quiet place for a little rest, but they cannot escape the crowd with its varied needs. In compassion and self-forgetfulness Jesus heals their sick and then, because they are weary and hungry and far from home, he graciously and marvelously supplies them with an abundance of food. Nothing has ever happened that so arouses their enthusiasm. The days of Moses and the manna seem about to be repeated. This man must be the prophet long foretold (Deut. 18:15-18); certainly here in the person of this great healer and bountiful provider they had found the one above all others qualified to rule over their land and with great unanimity they try to force the kingship upon him (John 6:14, 15). But grieved at their action Jesus eludes them, and thus disappoints and grieves them. In the words that soon follow (John 6:22-58) he puts an end to their national hopes so far as he is concerned and alienates himself from them, for he declares that

his true mission is not to the body but to the soul, not to give temporal and physical life but eternal life, and furthermore indicates that this mission is not to be realized by way of a royal earthly throne but by the way of *death*.

Thus Jesus not only loses the support of some who hereafter become indifferent, but he awakens the displeasure and ill will of those who had pinned their faith upon him as the coming king (John 6:66) and who now join his detractors.

This event, the crisis at Capernaum, marks the turning-point in Jesus' ministry. Opposition has grown so strong that he gives himself no longer to the crowds and the working of miracles but to the Twelve and the work of teaching the things of the kingdom and of revealing himself to them in his true character. It costs to be a Savior, and his mission took him through bitter and prolonged opposition that long before its culmination cast the shadow of the cross upon his path.

Exploration and Discovery

FRESH LIGHT ON THE STORY OF THE DELUGE

The Babylonian story of the Deluge as recorded by the Babylonian priest Berossus was known to Eusebius, the church historian, whose narrative of the Flood has been preserved for us by the Greek writers, Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus. According to this story, the god Chronos revealed to Xisuthros in a dream that he was about to destroy all life by a deluge and directed Xisuthros to save himself, his family, and relatives by building a ship large enough to accommodate themselves, some birds and beasts, and the necessary nourishment. Xisuthros carried out these instructions and betook himself to his ship when the flood came. Three times did he release birds in order to discover whether the waters were abating. Upon disembarking, he with his immediate family built an altar and sacrificed to the gods, who thereupon took him and his family to the heavens, leaving the rest of the party wondering whither they had gone. A voice from the air told the survivors that Xisuthros and his family had been honored by being taken into the company of the gods and that they should return to Babylonia from Armenia, where the ship had landed.

This story remained without any corroboration till December 3, 1872, when George Smith read before the Society of Biblical Archaeology in London a translation of some Assyrian tablets found in the Library of Ashurbanipal in the palace at Nineveh which contained the story of the Flood. This in general accorded with the story of Berossus, but was much more detailed and added many things of interest. For example, the Flood was sent because of man's sin; it lasted seven days; a dove was sent forth first, a swallow next, but the third time a raven, which did not return; the boat was coated within and without with bitumen.

These tablets, dating from about 660 B.C., were known to be copies of older ones. Some old Babylonian fragments of the same story, now in the private collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, which add no new information of any value, do demonstrate the existence of the story as far back as the eleventh year of King Ammisaduga of Babylon, i.e., about 1973 B.C., or according to Hilprecht, 1868 B.C. But these too are known to have been copies of still older originals.

Professor Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, has just published in his *Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story* (Philadelphia:

University of Pennsylvania, 1910), another fragment of the Deluge story found among the tablets brought back to America by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur, which are now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. As translated by Professor Hilprecht, the tablet reads:

[I declare unto] thee [that confines of heaven and earth] I will loosen, [a deluge I will make, and] it shall sweep away all men together [but thou seek] life before the deluge cometh forth; [for to all living beings], as many as there are, I will bring overthrow, destruction, annihilation. . . . Build a great ship and . . . total height shall be its structure. It shall be a houseboat carrying what has been saved of life. . . . With a strong deck cover it. [The ship] which thou shalt make, [into it bring] the beasts of the field, the birds of heaven, [and the creeping things, two of everything] instead of a number . . . and the family. . . .

The bracketed portions of the translation represent conjectural restorations made by Professor Hilprecht on the basis not of anything upon the tablet but of the biblical narrative itself (p. 57). These portions being eliminated, Professor Hilprecht's statement that the new fragment "agrees most remarkably with the biblical story in very essential details both as to contents and language" (p. 59) seems rather exaggerated. Professor Hilprecht declares this to be an older tablet even than that of J. Pierpont Morgan, going back into the period prior to 2000 B.C. The only evidence available as to its date apparently is the paleographical, and the knowledge of the stratum of the site from which it came. In any case it adds nothing to our present knowledge concerning the time when the Babylonian story was taken over by Israel and incorporated into its religious literature. On the other hand, it does strengthen the evidence for the existence of varying recensions of the Deluge narrative in Babylonian literature.

J. M. P. S.

Book Reviews

Religion in the Making: A Study in Biblical Sociology. By SAMUEL G. SMITH, D.D., Ph.D., LL.D. New York: Macmillan, 1910. 253 pages. \$1.25.

The main emphasis of this book is upon the subtitle. Accordingly, the author says: "I formed the opinion that sociology might prove one of the best instruments for the interpretation of the Bible, and that, on the other hand, the Bible might prove to be one of the best sources of sociological material" (preface). If the book did nothing more than advertise the claims of scientific sociology in the field of biblical interpretation, it would not be written in vain. And while it occupies a scientific platform, it also has the merit of insisting upon due reverence for religion as a historical factor which cannot be lightly treated by the phrasemaker.

It may be admitted that the book is "an introduction to a valuable way of looking at the Bible" (p. 10), without at the same time conceding that the book is a valuable introduction to the Bible. The author speaks of "the genetic idea of history" (p. 10), and of "the sociological study of the idea of God" (p. 40); but he makes the surprising statement that "a consistent development of the idea of God is not found in the Scriptures" (p. 66). If this is true, the sociologist, as such, had better avoid the problem of the Bible. While the book is a good advertisement of our need for biblical sociology, it is not a piece of close reasoning; nor is there a distinctive thesis to be discovered in it. We cannot "separate" the problem of the Old Testament from the problem of Christianity. For both Christianity and the Old Testament are subsumed under the distinctive biblical religion of a redeeming God. In the Old Testament this distinctive religion enters the life of a single society; in the New Testament, it enters through Christ into the life of society at large. Christianity is the middle term between modern scholarship and the Old Testament; and a scientific biblical sociology necessarily works in view of the Bible as a whole.

It is to be feared that his animadversions upon biblical critics will but lead astray those whom the author seems anxious to guide. He writes: "The trouble with the critic is that he has not done enough" (p. 4). This may be true; but if such pronouncements are not accompanied by an accurate bill of particulars, they will tend to alienate that portion of the public from which the author hopes to win a constituency. To admit, as this author does, that literary and historical criticism clears the way for biblical

sociology, and then to proclaim that the critic has "greatly disappointed his friends" (p. 5), and that "he has brought neither peace nor comfort" (*ibid.*), is poor tactics. "He has dethroned the old Bible," writes the author; "but he has not enthroned any new oracle." We doubt not only the accuracy, but the wisdom, of saying that the Bible has been "dethroned." For the "enthronement" of any new oracle we have searched the book in vain.

The author has nowhere stated the problem of biblical sociology. The origin of the distinctive biblical religion within a circumscribed social area, and its propagation throughout the world, involve a technical sociological problem which is not recognized by this book. The task of scientific sociology with reference to the Bible is to give a systematic description of the circumstances under which a primitive clan cult was transformed into a religion fit for society at large; but the accomplishment of this task demands more devotion to critical method than is evident in this treatise.

LOUIS WALLIS

CHICAGO

Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. Von Dr. EDWIN PREUSCHEN. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908-10. 1,184 columns. M. 14.

The Greek-German dictionary of the New Testament, the parts of which have been appearing at intervals during the past eighteen months, is brought to a conclusion by the appearance of the seventh instalment (*προαθλέω* bis *ὠφέλιμος*) in January, 1910. Dr. Preuschen has been engaged upon his lexicon for fifteen years (1895-1910), being inspired to undertake it by his work upon Stade's Hebrew Dictionary, the conciseness of which he has sought to imitate. It is long indeed since a large New Testament lexicon has appeared, and very much longer since a complete New Testament lexicon has been produced except as a revision of a previously existing one. Professor Thayer based his admirable *Lexicon* (1886) upon the work of Grimm (1862-68), and Grimm in turn built upon Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti Theologica* (2d ed., 1851). The appearance of Preuschen's dictionary is therefore no ordinary event in the progress of New Testament study.

In the interest of conciseness, much that relates to the history of the words treated, their meaning in Homer, Attic, etc., is omitted by Dr. Preuschen. For the same reason, he has declined to avail himself of the new lexical wealth that the papyri have brought us. The use of this would undoubtedly have complicated his task and delayed its completion, yet

many will regret the limitation. It would be ungrateful however to dwell upon this aspect of the first really new and complete New Testament lexicon that has appeared since Wilke's. One characteristic of the new lexicon which goes far toward making up for this defect is the mention made under almost every important article of recent theological literature bearing upon the history or meaning of the word in question. The result is a compact and modern dictionary, which promises to be very generally useful, but does not always afford the interpretative help so abundantly supplied by Thayer. There is in general no very elaborate analysis of meanings, and the work is likely to be more useful for the grammatical interpretation of the New Testament than for the more searching processes of logical exegesis. The exclusion of classical meanings and references, too, is disadvantageous for the historical study of words, so emphasized by Grimm, and so fruitful for thorough interpretation.

Dr. Preuschen's lexicon differs in some important respects from previous works of the same general character. It is not limited to the New Testament, but includes other Christian writings of the earliest times, the Apostolic Fathers, and those writings (such as the Gospel of Peter, the Sayings of Jesus, etc.) which are included in Dr. Preuschen's *Antilegomena*. The purpose of this is to give the student of the New Testament the means of a wider lexical induction and historical survey than the former isolated treatment of the New Testament permitted. For purposes of historical study, this is evidently the practical and reasonable course, and in this respect Dr. Preuschen's work surpasses all its predecessors. It is a further advantage of this method, that it supplies students of the earliest patristic literature with long-needed lexical help. Indeed, to both fields of study a real service has been rendered by this innovation.

Most of the earlier parts of the work have been noticed in the *Biblical World* as they have appeared and various slight defects there noted have been corrected in Dr. Preuschen's final "Berichtigungen." A few details relating to the final fasciculus may be noted. Some words occurring in the Apostolic Fathers have been accidentally omitted from the lexicon: προσδέω (*bind*), col. 972, πρόσθεν, col. 976, συλλαβή, col. 1047, σύμπασι, col. 1050, συμπνέω col. 1050, τετράς, col. 1085, ὑπηρεσία, col. 1115, φύλαρχος, col. 1142. Τάξις should precede Ταοῖα, col. 1075. The reference for ὑπέρμαχος should be I Clem. 45:7 (not 47:5). Φυλακίζω occurs in I Clem. 45:4 as well as in Acts 22:29. But these are after all minor matters, and we may congratulate Dr. Preuschen and all serious students of the New Testament upon this important addition to our instruments of study.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

ARTICLES

TOY, C. H. Panbabylonianism. *The Harvard Theological Review*, January, pp. 47-84.

A sketch of the rise of the Panbabylonian school of interpretation with an exposition and criticism of the views represented by that school. This constitutes one of the best brief discussions and refutations of the Panbabylonian argument.

LYON, D. G. The Harvard Expedition to Samaria. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-38.

A concise statement of the results of the season's digging from May 31, 1909, to November 14. The chief objects of interest uncovered were (1) the ground-plan of a temple supposed to have been erected by Herod the Great; (2) "the massive outlines and a portion of the wall of a still older structure, which Dr. Reisner thinks is the palace of Omri and Ahab."

BARTON, G. A. Abraham and Archaeology. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 152-68.

A most keen and searching criticism of the view that archaeological science has vindicated the historical character of the Old Testament story of Abraham.

PETERS, J. P. The Earliest Hebrew Writings. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-81.

A study of the religious and social conditions out of which came the Hebrew traditions, myths, legends, and songs, belonging to the times prior to David.

HAYDN, H. M. Azariah of Judah and Tiglathpileser III. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-99.

A careful presentation of the evidence pointing toward the identification of Azariah of Judah and Azrijaû of Ja'udi, which is at present given up by the majority of scholars. This article will indeed "bespeak a reopening of the question."

DRIVER, S. R. The Method of Studying the Psalter. *The Expositor*, February, pp. 114-31.

This second article in a series upon this general theme devotes itself to an exposition of Pss. 45 and 70. It is hardly necessary to say that the "method" is illustrated here by a piece of Dr. Driver's well-known and thoroughgoing grammatical and historical interpretation.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

KENYON, F. G. Codex Alexandrinus in Reduced Photographic Facsimile. New Testament and Clementine Epistles. London: British Museum, 1909. Pp. 11, Plates 286.

Thirty years have passed since the New Testament part of Codex Alexandrinus appeared (1879) in photographic facsimile. A much more convenient and elegant facsimile in quarto has now been published by the British Museum trustees, with an introduction by Mr. Kenyon. The three Old Testament volumes are to follow.

PEAKE, ARTHUR S. A Critical Introduction to the New Testament (Studies in Theology). New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. 242. 75 cents net.

This concise and intelligent Introduction puts the present state of that important part of New Testament study clearly before the English reader. The conclusions reached are on some matters decidedly conservative: thus the Fourth Gospel is ascribed to the apostle John. On the other hand II Peter was written not long before

150 A.D.; it is held to be probable that Luke's writings depend upon Josephus, and fall later than 93 or 94 A.D.; and the Pastoral Epistles in their present form are not from the hand of Paul. The value of Professor Peake's work makes the reader regret that he has dealt with some problems so briefly.

BURKITT, F. CRAWFORD. *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus.* [Modern Religious Problems.] Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910. Pp. 131. 50 cents net.

Professor Burkitt discusses the Synoptic Problem, the origin and sources of Mark, and the composition of Matthew and Luke in a vigorous, popular, and intelligent way.

BACON, B. W. *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate: A Series of Essays and Problems Concerning the Origin and Value of the Anonymous Writings Attributed to the Apostle John.* New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1910. Pp. 544. \$4 net.

Professor Bacon has gathered into this important book, together with other materials, articles of his which have appeared in the English and American journals in recent years. They are wrought into a book full of learning and originality, intended to interest not only the scholar but the general reader as well. Professor Bacon does not accept the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and his vigorous handling of the various phases of this difficult subject reopens many questions.

MOFFATT, JAMES, Paul and Paulinism. [Modern Religious Problems.] Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910. Pp. 77. 50 cents net.

A trenchant sketch of the life and thought of Paul.

KLOSTERMANN, ERICH, AND GRESSMANN, HUGO. *Die Evangelien: Matthäus.* [Handbuch zum Neuen Testament.] Tübingen: Mohr, 1909. Pp. 149-244. (Matt. 1:1-12:31.)

LIEZTMANN, HANS. *Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus: An die Korinther II.* [Handbuch zum Neuen Testament.] Tübingen: Mohr, 1909. Pp. 165-224.

The parts of Professor Lietzmann's promising *Handbuch* continue to appear, fourteen instalments having thus far been issued. The separation of the interpretation and the more practical treatment characterizes the series.

RELATED SUBJECTS

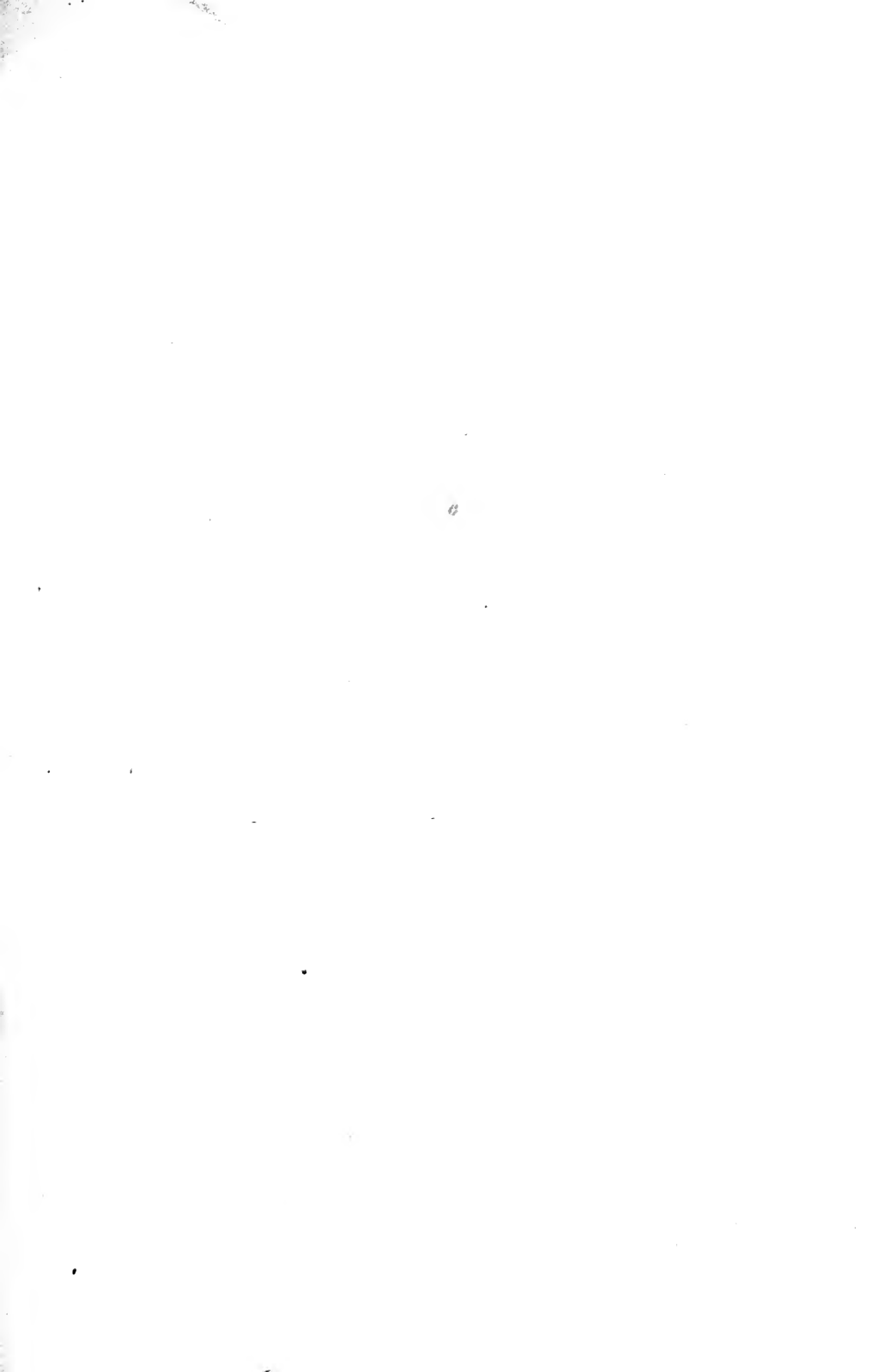
BOOKS

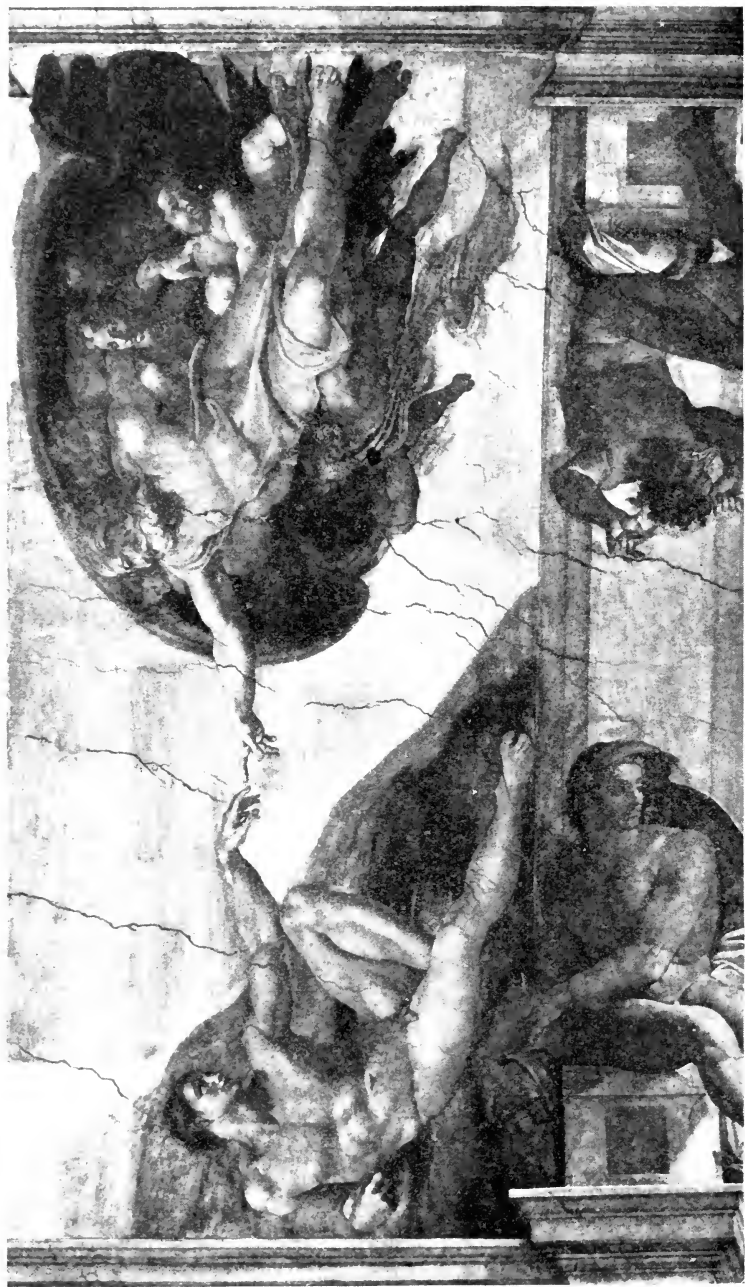
JORDAN, L. H. *Comparative Religion. A Survey of its Recent Literature.* Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co., 1910. Pp. 72.

This survey covers the literature in question for the years 1906-9 inclusive. The list comprises twenty-five important publications. The reviews by Dr. Jordan are thoroughly well done, enabling the reader to judge intelligently of the character and quality of the books under discussion. The value of the booklet is much increased by a closing section in which the author gathers up the achievements in the study of comparative religion during the period under review.

RASHDALL, HASTINGS. *Philosophy and Religion.* New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. xvi + 189. 75 cents.

This book contains six lectures delivered at Cambridge University. The themes discussed are (1) "Mind and Matter," (2) "The Universal Cause," (3) "God and the Moral Consciousness," (4) "Difficulties and Objections," (5), "Revelation," (6) "Christianity." The style is interesting and clear, and the character of the discussion brings it well within the reach of any educated reader. The philosophy of which Dr. Rashdall is an exponent is the theistic idealism of Bishop Berkeley, Immanuel Kant, T. H. Green, and Mr. Bradley, who are somewhat overshadowed nowadays by the realists and pragmatists.





Michael Angelo, in the Sistine Chapel

THE CREATION OF MAN

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXV

MAY, 1910

NUMBER 5

Editorial

TRADITIONAL OR CREATIVE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

THE PROBLEM OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

The question discussed in our editorial of last month—whether the message of the church was given to it in full for all time, centuries ago, and is henceforth simply to be discovered by interpretation and proclaimed, or is still incomplete and to be continually enlarged and revised by investigation and experience—has important bearings on the problem of theological education.

TWO VIEWS OF THE PROBLEM—THE OLD AND THE NEW

If the first view is correct, the task of the theological seminary is simple and definite. The biblical department confines itself to the task of interpretation and the necessary adjuncts thereto; systematic theology becomes merely the organization and defense of the results of this interpretative process; church history has only to classify events and doctrines with reference to theological conformity or nonconformity; homiletics is "sacred oratory" pure and simple; and the function of all the various divisions of practical theology is purely applicatory.

From the second point of view, every department is engaged to some extent in investigation, having as part of its task the making of its own contribution to the body of truth which the church shall hold and teach, and to the methods by which the church shall achieve its supreme end of guiding the youth in the right way of life, uplifting and inspiring men and women, and developing a better human society. By way of illustration of the theological task and method conceived from this point of view, attention may be directed to the

departments of sociology and religious education. These departments being of recent origin are of course not provided with a large amount of material that has been worked out by former generations and handed down to them as a sacred legacy. Their task, therefore, cannot be that of transmitting to the student a body of assured and accepted results from previous generations of workers in these fields, but is rather that of leading him in the investigation of conditions and problems of which neither instructor, nor student, nor for that matter anyone else, has as yet made an adequate study. The student of these subjects, therefore, is brought face to face with the facts of life in its various spheres. It is his task to examine these facts free from all prejudice, to subject them to a careful analysis, and to work out for himself such solutions of the problems raised by a consideration of the facts as commend themselves to his enlightened judgment and conscience. The whole method and point of view in both departments is as thoroughly inductive and scientific as a physician's diagnosis.

In a similar manner the task of biblical scholarship as conceived from the second point of view is that of discovering the circumstances under which the several portions of the biblical literature were produced, of interpreting their contents, and of constructing the history of events and of thought. Its work is done successfully in so far as it succeeds in discovering all of the forces that went into the production of the biblical message and in setting forth its full import and significance in the light of the conditions out of which it came. To do this one must of course come to the record sympathetically, seeking to secure the point of view of the writer, place himself in imagination in the same kind of environment, and divest himself completely of all conceptions and prejudices constituting a part of his own thought-content and social environment which had no place in the life of those whom he seeks to interpret. Only so can he reproduce in full and unblurred tones the message of the original speakers. Only this will satisfy—nothing less and nothing more. Biblical theology as a historical discipline, so far from crowning and completing the task of theology only leads up to the most vital problems which biblical study forces upon our consideration.

The task of the church historian is of exactly the same sort, the

only essential difference between the two being in the fact that they deal with different periods of the history of thought. In the case of both of these historical departments, to be sure, if the work of interpretation has been thoroughly performed, it will become evident what religious convictions have in the past best satisfied the twofold test of explaining the religious experience and contributing to its betterment.

In the departments of systematic and practical theology the same method and point of view control. Here it is the function of the student not merely to find out what has been taught in the past, but rather to face the facts of the world in which he lives frankly and to discover their religious significance and value. In doing this of course the theologian will receive incalculable aid from a careful study of the religious experience of the past as it has been made accessible to him by the work of the biblical and historical student. He will thus see how men of former generations have interpreted the world in which they lived, and by a comparison of the conditions of his own day with those prevailing in previous ages he will be enabled to determine to some extent at least to what degree the formulations of the religious experience of the past may be of value amid the conditions of today. The worker in the field of practical theology should be the pioneer in the application of new methods and in the discovery of new religious forces and principles. Instead of merely seeking to put into persuasive form a message already determined in content, he will bring to light those fundamental human needs with which religious beliefs and practices must be correlated.

TWO DIFFICULT TASKS

A theological school which endeavors to conduct its work in this spirit and from this point of view has imposed upon it the fulfilment of two difficult conditions. On the one side it is compelled to keep in touch with the intellectual movement of the age, which finds its foremost expression in the various departments of the university. This necessity arises in the first place from the fact that many of the ablest among the youth of the country are receiving their education in the universities. If as they leave the schools to take up their life's business in the various cities of the country they find in

the pulpits of the land men whose whole intellectual horizon, point of view, and method of thought are foreign to that of the university, the church is practically certain to lose its hold on them and so lose also their co-operation in its work. It is much to be feared that such a condition of things is already to some extent in existence. It is also true that if the seminaries are to attract from among the graduates of the universities men who will be fitted as ministers to become leaders of the thoughtful men who are in sympathy with the aims of the church, these schools must have in their several chairs of instruction those who know what is going on in the universities in this age of swiftly moving intellectual life. Not indeed that the seminaries have simply to adopt all that the professors of psychology and philosophy, of history and science teach. They may be obliged to dissent from their teaching; but, if so, not in ignorance of what they are putting forth, but with intelligent understanding of it.

The second task imposed on the theological school is not less difficult or important. It must keep in touch with what we may call the rank and file of the church, and with the life of people at large outside the church. The church can never afford to ally itself with ignorance against knowledge, or go its way indifferent to the vanguard of honest thinkers; but neither can the ministry, or the schools which seek to educate men for the ministry, lose their close touch and sympathy with the common people who have always constituted and doubtless always will constitute the bone and sinew of the church.

The task of maintaining this twofold relationship, on the one hand to the most progressive and intense intellectual life of the age and on the other to people of all classes and conditions, has always been laid upon the ministry and the theological school and has always been difficult to bear. But it is in a sense far more difficult from the point of view of a living investigative theology than from that of a body of truth once for all announced. According to the latter conception the message of the preacher is a datum, for the content of which neither he nor the school has responsibility. It is the business of the school to transmit it to him. This is a serious task indeed, but after all simple compared with that of the school which recognizes its responsibility to train men to be life-long investi-

gators, and fit them to be the religious leaders of other men of like training. If the message was once for all delivered, and may once for all be imparted to the preacher, the rabbinic ideal of a full cup handed on from teacher to pupil, no drop added, no drop spilled, is the true one. But if the preacher must accept the task of investigator and prophet, this is also even more the duty of the teacher; and with sweat of brain and throb of heart, each must stand all his days in the midst of men, interpreter of man to man and of the experience of the race to all; knowing both the history of the past and the surging life of today and wringing from both their contribution to the thought of today. Who is sufficient for these things? What theological faculty dare assume such a responsibility? Yet the question recurs, What faculty can excuse itself from meeting this responsibility in the utmost possible measure?

THE EARLY RELIGION OF PALESTINE

D. D. LUCKENBILL
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In two articles on "The Excavations in Palestine,"¹ the writer made an attempt to reconstruct the early history of Palestine in the light of these excavations. Especial attention was given to the part played by Babylonia and Egypt in the course of this history and the conclusion reached was, that, contrary to the prevailing opinion, the influence of Babylonia on Palestine was comparatively insignificant as against that of Egypt. An attempt was also made to show that whatever Babylonian influences did reach Palestine were probably brought there by the Hittite invasions of the country. It remains to be seen whether a study of the second phase of our subject, namely, the early religion of Palestine in the light of the excavations, will bear out these conclusions.

One of the first mysterious realities that inspired the awe of primitive man was the fact of death. Yesterday his companion fought at his side in the battle or took an active part in the chase; today he lies cold and motionless—dead. Why this change? Primitive man did not know; he noticed however that the breath, the soul, had left the body. But whither had it gone? The soul, though separated from the body, was near at hand, as he knew from his dreams in which the dead took as active a part as the living.² Primitive man had no Sheol or Elysian Fields, no hell and no heaven, to which he could conveniently consign his dead, that is, their souls, while their bodies were carefully laid away. His problem was not, therefore, concerning a future life or the immortality of the soul. He was concerned with the dead, *here and now*, and, since these were as truly members of the clan as were the living, on his treatment of them depended whether they would harm or help. And so arose the cult of the dead,

¹ *Biblical World*, January and February, 1910, 10 f., and 97 f.

² This of course indicated to him that the soul returned and reanimated the body.

ancestor-worship.³ The dead must be housed, fed, and cared for; and prayed to for assistance. Now the cave was one of man's first dwelling-places, and we must therefore expect to find it used as a house for the dead as well.



A DOLMEN NEAR WADY ZERKA

Although the dolmen represents a development out of the earlier burial-cave, it will be more convenient to discuss it first. The

³ Cf. Paton, *Biblical World*, February, 1910, 80 f., and Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, II, Pt. 2, 4 f., and 346 f. It does not fall within the scope of this article to discuss the many factors which enter into the development of ancestor-worship. It may be well, however, to call attention to a few general facts in this development. The idea of "soul" was much more complex in the thought of primitive man than with us. So, for instance, he associated the idea of soul with different parts of the body, such as the kidneys, liver, hair, nails, etc., more particularly with the blood, or even with the whole body. This we designate the corporeal soul (*Körperseele*). Then there was the idea of a spiritual soul, the breath-soul, the dream-soul, and others. In reality all of these different souls reduce themselves to the general idea of a power or powers which are either helpful or harmful. The problem of primitive man was to control these powers, that is, make all of them helpful. One way of disposing of the problem of the corporeal soul was by eating the body, soul and all. This is probably the explanation of cannibalism. Another was to destroy as much of the soul as possible by cremating the body. Or the body was carefully laid away in a cave or grave with

investigations of Dr. Schumacher⁴ have shown that the Palestinian dolmens were graves, just as were those found in other countries. The normal type of dolmen consists of four huge stones set upright, forming a rectangular inclosure (house), and covered with one or more large slabs. In some cases the floor is also covered with slabs, while the front end-stone is either only half as high as the others, or broken so as to form an entrance to the interior.⁵ Cup-marks⁶ are found on the cover slabs and on the floors of these dolmens. What is their significance? The most obvious answer, and the one probably most nearly correct, is that they were cut as receptacles for water for the dead.⁷ As already indicated, the dolmen was an artificial representatives of food and drink which would satisfy the wants of the soul. If the belief developed that the spirit-soul was dissatisfied unless it could return to the body, it became necessary to preserve the body. For this purpose the process of embalming was resorted to. So Wundt.

⁴ *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1886), 267 f.; (1893), 75 f.

⁵ See Gressmann, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1909), 113 f.; and Sophus Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde*, I, 72 f. This opening is common to the dolmens of Sweden, England, France, the Crimea, the Caucasus, Palestine, and India, and in it Müller sees the link which connects all of them. He believes that the dolmen originated in the Orient where man took his first steps toward a higher civilization.

⁶ Cup-marks varying in size from a few centimeters to considerably over a meter in diameter, and from two to sixty and more centimeters in depth, and occurring singly or in larger or smaller groups, are found all over Palestine and Syria. Undoubtedly most of those found on the rock-surface near springs and cisterns were cut for and used as watering-troughs for flocks and herds; others were clearly the receiving vats of oil and wine presses, while many of those found in out-of-the-way places and on barren hill-tops may have been cut into the soft limestone by shepherd boys who found time hanging heavily on their hands. But after making liberal allowance for all such as could possibly have been made for "secular" purposes, there still remains a large number whose significance was undoubtedly religious. We may be sure that there was no period from the time of the first inhabitants to the present day that did not see new cup-marks cut into the rocks, but we have proof that many date from a remote antiquity. At Gezer, Tell el-Mutesellim, and the other Palestinian mounds, where the original rock-surface of the hill was laid bare, the excavations revealed them cut into this rock-surface, in many cases showing centuries of weathering, which proves that they were cut long before the Canaanites came into the country. Cf. Dalman, *Palästina-Jahrbuch* (1908), 23 f.; Macalister, *Explorations in Palestine*, 189 f.; Gressmann, *op. cit.* (1909), 113 f.

⁷ Müller, *op. cit.*, 170, holds that the cup-marks undoubtedly had a religious significance, but sees in them parallels to the symbols of fruitfulness and good luck, still objects of worship in India, rather than receptacles for the blood of sacrificial animals, as others regard them.

sensation of the caves used as dwellings both by the living and the dead. They are usually found in regions where natural caves are not common. So in Palestine most of the dolmens are found east of the Jordan, while there are comparatively few traces of them in the honey-combed hills of Ephraim and Judah.⁸

We have already discussed the neolithic burial-cave with its food-vessels for the dead, discovered at Gezer.⁹ It is extremely probable that it is typical of the burial-places of the primitive inhabitants of Palestine west of the Jordan. The Semites took over the burial-caves from their predecessors, in many cases, as at Gezer, using caves for cemeteries which the earlier inhabitants had used as dwellings. Out of the burial-cave developed the rock-hewn tomb, known in all periods of the later history of the country, Canaanite,¹⁰ Israelite, Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Crusader. The neighborhood of Jerusalem is especially rich in examples from all periods.

The custom of providing food and drink for the dead, as well as shelter, was not confined to the primitive inhabitants of Palestine. The Canaanites as well as the Israelites probably had the same custom, even before they entered the country, and it is therefore not surprising to find offerings for the dead in the Palestinian tombs of all periods from the earliest to the latest. In fact, this belief is by no means confined to primitive peoples; it was part of the religion of the highly cultured Egyptians,¹¹ Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans, and the same belief survives in Palestine today.¹² Beside the vessels for

⁸ Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 192, attributes the absence of dolmens west of Jordan to the "iconoclastic and vandal races" who occupied this country during most of its history. Spoer's theory that the dolmen represents a primitive altar has little to be said in its favor (*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* [1908], 276 f.).

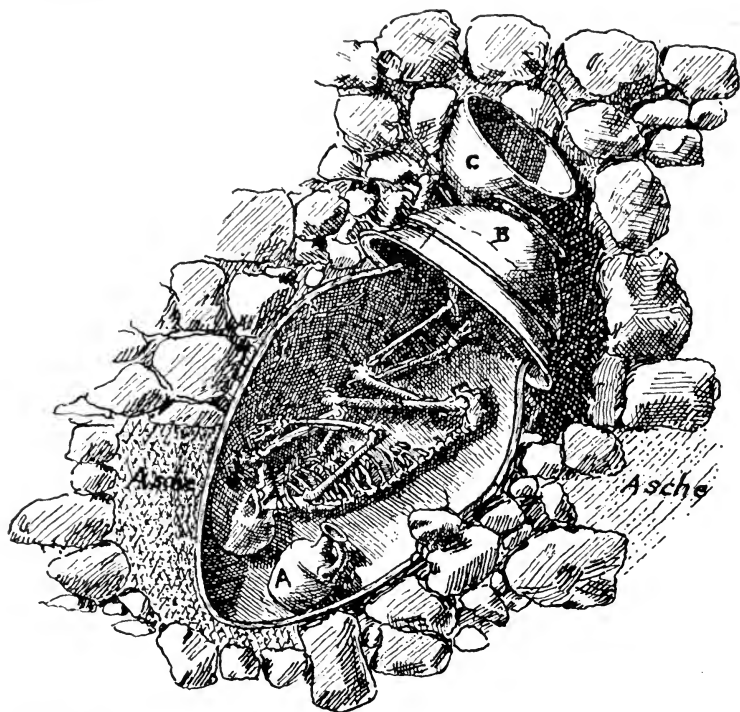
⁹ *Biblical World*, January, 1910, 23 f.

¹⁰ A large number of such tombs dating from all periods in the history of Megiddo are described in *Tell el-Mutesellim*, 165 f.

¹¹ As early as the Fourth Dynasty we find that "the king gives whole towns as mortuary endowment, to keep the tomb of the deceased [official] constantly supplied with offerings" (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, §§200 f.).

¹² On the stone slabs over the graves in the Moslem cemetery just outside the eastern wall of Jerusalem one occasionally sees a round cup-mark. The women who frequent the cemeteries on holidays usually bring along some food and place it upon the graves. My Arabic teacher, a Christian, told me that the food and water were for the dead, but that the Mohammedans do not like to admit this, and usually say that they are "for the birds."

food and drink, numerous other objects were deposited with the dead—weapons, scarabs, amulets, etc., undoubtedly intended to provide for the various needs of the departed. In the later tombs lamps are commonly found.¹³



From Schumacher's "Tell el-Mutesellim"

A CHILD'S GRAVE AT MEGIDDO

At Gezer a large number of infants were found placed in jars and buried near the high-place.¹⁴ Mr. Macalister and others saw in these sacrifices of the first-born. In some instances we probably have to do with such sacrifices, but it seems that the "iniquity of the Amorite"

¹³ Numerous explanations of this practice have been offered, but it seems to the writer that the lamps represent the last trace of a practice common among primitive peoples, of providing fires at which the dead might warm themselves. In most of the Danish dolmens the ashes from such fires are to be found (cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, 99 f.). Of course a later age would look upon the lamps as a means of providing light for the dead. The lamps from Christia tombs have such mottoes as "Christ is my light" upon them.

¹⁴ Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights*, 73 f.

has been very much exaggerated, for, just as the dead are frequently found buried beneath the streets, or under the houses,¹⁵ probably in order "to keep the spirit of the dead near its former abode, over which it could continue to exercise a benevolent influence,"¹⁶ so many, if not most of the burials of infants near sacred sites point to the belief in the rebirth of the soul.¹⁷ This point will come up again in the discussion of human sacrifices.

Nature round about primitive man was full of powers, malevolent and benevolent. For purposes of study we usually arrange these powers into two classes, demons or jinns, and gods, a classification, however, which never occurred to primitive man. He classified them into the powers which were near at hand and those which were far away. Those near at hand had to be respected. It is a well-known fact that the natives of Palestine today do not hesitate to take a false oath by Allah or Mohammed, both of whom are not near enough to be considered dangerous, but they would not think of speaking anything but the truth if called upon to swear to their statements by the scheich of some nearby *weli*. For our purposes it will be convenient to classify the deities of Palestine into those of the underworld, those of earth, and those of the sky or heaven. The different kinds of sacrifices correspond roughly to these three classes of deities.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Tell Ta'anek*, 97, and elsewhere.

¹⁶ So S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, 36.

¹⁷ "The jar-burials, where the infant is inserted head downwards, are more suggestive of the latter [rebirth of the soul, as over against the theory that burial in a contracted position represents the usual crouched posture of the individual as he sat in his life-time among his fellows], and the evidence from Africa and Asia shows that provision is sometimes made for the rebirth of still-born or very young babes on the conviction that at some future occasion they will enter again into a mother's womb. The numerous emblems of nature-worship and the mother-goddess, especially at Gezer, raise the presumption that the deities of the place were powers of fertility and generation; and, just as the shrines of saints today are visited by would-be mothers who hope for offspring, it is not improbable that in olden times those who had been prematurely cut off from the living were interred in sacred sites venerated by the women."—*Ibid.*, 37. This view was proposed by J. G. Frazer in *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 77 f. The Algonquin Indians bury their dead children near frequented pathways so that their souls may enter into the children of prospective mothers who happen to pass that way (Wundt, *op. cit.*, II, pt. 2, 47).

¹⁸ This classification has nothing to do with any *theory* of sacrifice. For this the reader is referred to Wundt, *op. cit.*, 330 f. It has to do altogether with the *form* of sacrifice.

The most natural sacrifice to underground deities was the offering of blood and other liquids as libations; the natural sacrifice to the gods of earth was the offering of food, the deities being invited as guests; but the only way in which the gods of the sky could conveniently be reached was through the smoke of the burnt-offering. The most common offerings to the dead, considered as deities of the under-world—because they were housed in caves or buried—was the libation of water or blood. The deities of Canaan were predominantly baals of the land, and we therefore find the Canaanites eating, drinking, and making merry with their gods. On the other hand, the god of the Israelites, Yahweh, was a god of the wind, the storm, the thunder and lightnings.¹⁹ In view of his nature it was therefore easy to localize him in heaven, as was done in later Israel. But even in the days when the fitting sacrifices to Yahweh were a broken heart and a contrite spirit, he was pleased with the “sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt-offerings, with whole burnt-offerings” and bullocks upon his altar.²⁰

It will be well to keep this classification of deities in mind as we turn to the study of the places of worship and the cults connected with them. We may begin with the neolithic high-place at Gezer.

At about the middle point of the mound Mr. Macalister found a large rock-surface with some eighty cup-marks, and underneath this two large caves. On the surface of the rock there is a broad shallow channel which leads to a funnel-shaped hole in the roof of one of the caves. The channel was evidently made to carry the blood of the sacrificial animals to the deities who were supposed to inhabit these caves. It is worth noting that a heap of pig-bones was found underneath this hole in the roof. The pig was therefore a sacrificial animal among these people.²¹ A similar place of worship was found at Tell el-Mutesellim, Megiddo; but unfortunately the cave was enlarged and used by the later inhabitants as a dwelling, and still later as a cemetery. At another time a large part of the rock-surface was quarried away, but in what remains there are thirty-nine cup-marks of different sizes, many of which are connected by channels. The

¹⁹ In fact, as Gressmann has shown, these sterner attributes of Yahweh developed so far that he became the god of all the unfavorable phenomena of nature (*Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, 118 f.).

²⁰ Ps. 51:19.

²¹ *Bible Side-Lights*, 46 f.

original entrance to the cave was by a hole through the surface of the rock. We need feel no hesitation in regarding this rock-altar and cave underneath as the place of worship of the first inhabitants of the hill.²²

It is probable that in many cases the Semitic invaders took over the places of worship of their predecessors. At Gezer two caves were found, connected by a narrow, crooked passage, just east of the northern end of the row of pillars of the high-place. Mr. Macalister suggests that they may have been used in the giving of oracles.²³ At any rate it shows that the cave was associated with the high-place. Again at Taanach, Sellin found two caves, known as the caves of Ishtar-washur, from the cuneiform tablets bearing this man's name, found in an adjoining room. He was at first inclined to regard one of the caves as a cistern and the other as a place of refuge in case of siege, but later excavations made this unlikely. The channel, which he had thought conducted the water to the cistern, was found to lead to both caves, and to have started from two isolated rocks whose surface had been hewn flat, but which could not under any circumstances have collected enough water for a cistern. Here again the most probable explanation is that the channel was cut into the rock to conduct the blood of sacrificial animals to the deities who dwelt in the caves.²⁴ Sacred caves, the abode of chthonic deities, are common to all early religions; we find them in Greece; they are especially common in Phoenicia, while it is a well-known fact that most sacred places in Palestine still have their grottoes.²⁵ One thinks at once of the cave under the sacred rock of the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem and the cave of Machpelah at Hebron.

Among the many natural objects with which the Canaanites associated deities were springs and trees. Both of these as sacred objects are still common in Palestine today. As W. R. Smith has pointed out, "the two chief places of pilgrimage of the northern Israelites in the time of Amos were Dan and Beersheba." At the former place is the sacred fountain, the source of the Jordan; at the latter, the "Seven wells."²⁶ The sacred tree was represented at the

²² *Mutesellim*, 154 f.

²⁴ *Eine Nachtse auf dem Tell Ta'annek*, 7 f., 32 f.

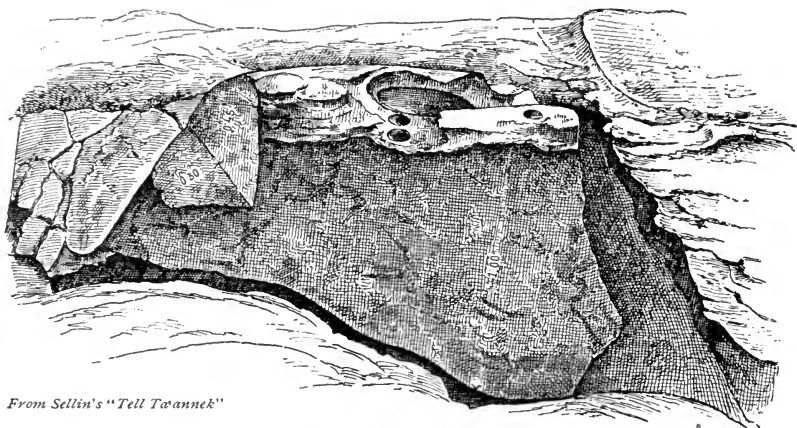
²³ *Op. cit.*, 67 f.

²⁵ W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 197.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

Tree and pillar worship were part of the Minoan cultus in Crete. A sacred fig tree in a shrine was found represented on a stone vase from Knossos, and the oak "remained sacred down to classical times at Dodona in Thessaly."—Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 134 f.

Canaanite high-place by the *asherah*, well known from the Old Testament references to it. Every city and village, every field, spring, tree—almost every natural object, had its baal, i.e., possessor, and every village and city had its high-place. Kittel²⁷ and Guthe have pointed out many such table-altars. So, for instance, at Nebi Samwîl, probably Mizpeh, at Sar'a (Zorah), Marmîta, etc.; in fact, a search of a few minutes near any village in Palestine is likely to be rewarded with the discovery of some traces of a high-place.



From Sellin's "Tell Ta'annek"

A CANAANITISH ROCK-ALTAR AT TAANACH

At Taanach a very fine example of a Canaanitish rock-altar was found. This altar was cut out of the natural rock, is exactly one meter in height, and has an oval cup, fifty by forty centimeters, cut into the surface. Beside this large cup there are three smaller ones, eight to nine centimeters in diameter. On the east side there is a step forty-five centimeters high. Evidently the altar was intended for offerings of food and drink—not for burnt-offerings. It will be seen that such an altar violates Israelitish law in two respects: in the first place, it was hewn out of the rock, in violation of Exod. 20:25; in the second place, it had a step, the height of which makes the prohibition of Exod. 20:26 very clear. Another such altar was found on the west side of the hill at Taanach.²⁸

²⁷ *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie*, 97 f.

²⁸ *Tell Ta'annek*, 10 f.

Why was the Israelitish law directed against altars of hewn stone? The answer lies in the difference between the Canaanitish and early Israelitish altars. The latter, like the common Beduin altar, was a stone²⁹ or heap of stones, set up at random, wherever the deity appeared, and it became not only the table-altar, but also the abode and symbol of the deity himself. Naturally it would be dangerous to lift up any tool upon it, for in the process the deity would be "polluted," as Exod. 20:25 has it. On the other hand, the Canaanitish table-altar was not regarded as the abode of the deity. This was the sacred pillar, *massebah*, set up near the altar. The Canaanitish table-altar was taken over by the Israelites, but as an altar for burnt-offerings. Kittel³⁰ calls attention to an interesting Old Testament passage which illustrates this. In Judg. 6:11 f. we have the story of how the angel of Yahweh appeared to Gideon near an oak in Ophrah while he was threshing wheat nearby. The angel promised deliverance to Israel at the hand of Gideon. Gideon, however, asks for a sign. "And Gideon went in, and made ready a kid, and unleavened cakes of an ephah of meal; the flesh he put in a basket, and he put the broth in a pot, and brought it out unto him under the oak, and presented it." Evidently this prepared food was to be spread out upon a rock and the deity was to join in the feast. But the sign, the proof that Gideon was speaking with an angel of Yahweh, lay in the fact that after the food had been spread out upon the rock, "the angel of Yahweh put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes; and there went up fire out of the rock, and consumed the flesh and the unleavened cakes." The experience of Manoah was a similar one.³¹

²⁹ The blood as the "life" is looked upon as belonging to the deity, and we therefore find the Semites slaughtering their animals which are to be used as food upon stones or altars, down which the blood of the slaughtered animal is allowed to run. To eat the meat of an animal slaughtered upon the ground was looked upon as eating it with the blood. Cf. I Sam. 14:31 f.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, 104 f.

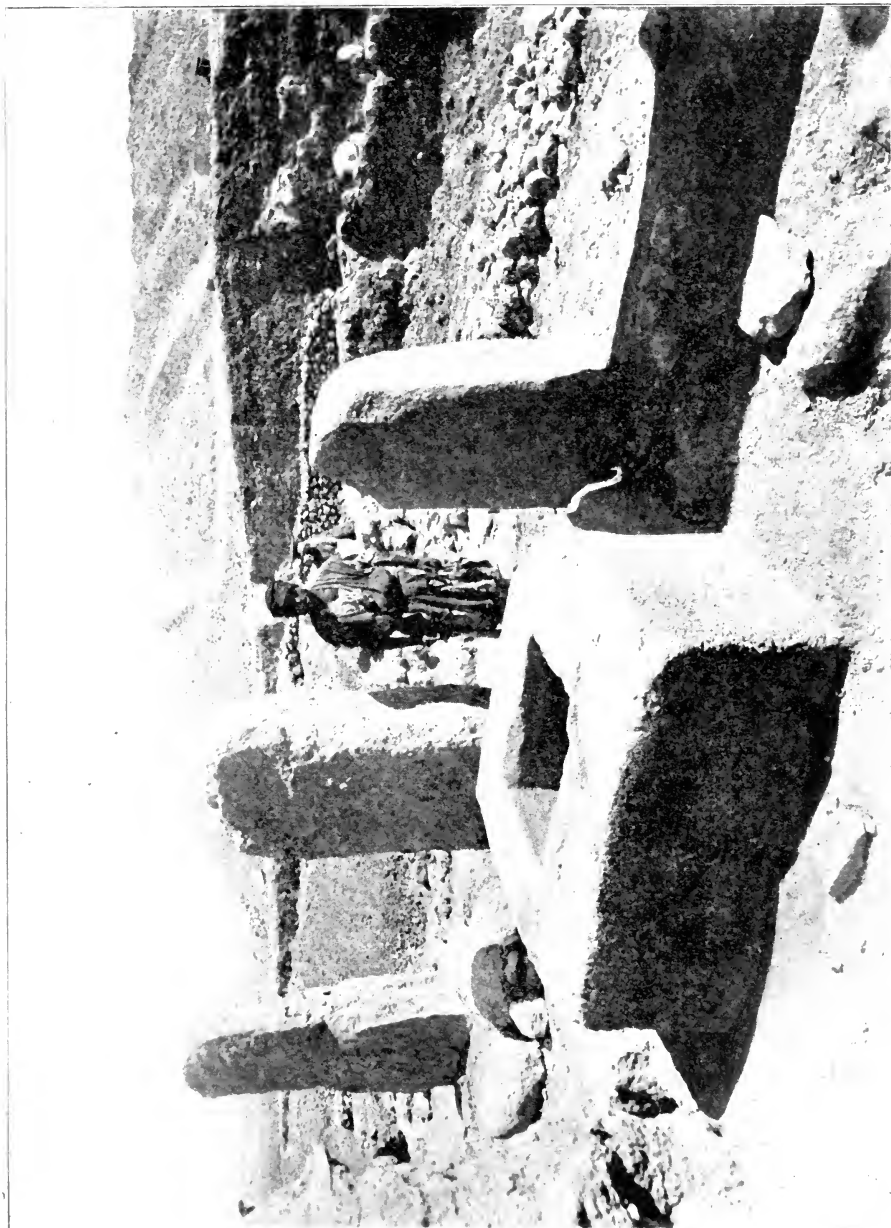
³¹ Judg. 13:9 f. A study of the high-places and altars at Petra makes it probable that the Nabataeans did not have the altar for burnt-offerings (Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, 56). The famous "incense-altar" found at Taanach (*Tell Ta'anneh*, 109 f.), which seems to have been a heating stove and no altar at all, belongs to the period ca. 1000-700 B.C. Consequently it does not fall within the scope of these articles. The question arises whether the Egyptian incense-altar, found in the Israeli-

The high-place was nothing more than the table to which the deity was invited in order to partake of a sacrificial meal along with the worshipers. Such a gathering is described in I Sam., chap. 9. It shows of course that the Israelites took over the worship at the high-places from the Canaanites. It is not necessary to cite instances of this—a practice which was regarded as whoredom by the prophets, and as back-sliding by the later writers. But how was the god represented? As already indicated, by the massebah or sacred pillar. "Of course not the rudest savage believes that in setting up a sacred stone he is making a new god; what he does believe is that the god comes into this stone, dwells in it, or animates it, so that for practical purposes the stone is thenceforth an embodiment of the god and may be spoken of and dealt with as if he were the god himself."³²

The high-place at Gezer contains perhaps the most interesting group of pillars which the excavations have revealed. Originally they were ten in number. Eight of them are still whole, and the stumps of the other two are still in position. They are unhewn monoliths, set on end and supported at the base by smaller stones. The line runs due north and south. They vary in size from five and a half feet to over ten feet in height. Four of them have cup-marks, and one of them, the smallest, has polished spots on the surface, which point to the practice of anointing and kissing the sacred object. All but one of the blocks seem to have come from the imme-

tish stratum at Megiddo (*Mutesellim*, 127), is not also to be looked upon as a brazier rather than an altar. It is hardly possible that the Canaanites of Palestine did not worship the Syrian god Hadad, who is in many ways similar to the god of the Israelites. If they did, we should expect burnt-offerings as part of his worship. And yet it is impossible to designate anything in the excavations which undoubtedly points to such offerings. Nor have the excavations furnished any indication concerning the nature of the worship of such Canaanitish gods as Reshep, Şaphon, Gad, Milk, Şedek, etc., known chiefly from their occurrence in proper names in the Old Testament or the Amarna letters. Most of them were probably local baals.

³² W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, 206. In the end the pillar becomes the anthropomorphic image of the deity. In Semitic religions the plain pillar remained the only representation of the deity almost without exception. The symbol of Dushara, the chief deity of the Nabataeans, was the pillar, even in the age when Roman ideas must have been dominant at Petra. Spoer's revival of the theory that the massebahs were phalli (*op. cit.*, 285 f.) has been successfully refuted by Gressmann (*op. cit.*, 116 f.). It is interesting to notice that the arguments used by these men had already been discussed at length by W. R. Smith (*op. cit.*, 456 f.), a fact apparently overlooked by both.



THE HIGH-PLACE AT GEZER

diat neighborhood of Gezer, and this one seems to have come from Jerusalem or its vicinity. Perhaps it was brought to Gezer after a successful raid by the Gezerites against their enemies in the hills.

At Tell es-Safi, Gath, a high-place with three pillars, running east and west, was found. At Taanach the excavations produced pillars of various kinds. The oldest of these are two pillars, the one with a cup-mark on the top, the other with one on the side. It has been supposed that these stones represent a male and a female deity. The potsherds found scattered about, show that the pillars were set up by the Canaanites, but that they were also used later by the Israelites. Under the north tower of the third stratum, a double row of columns, five in the row, was found. These were erected in the classical Israelitish age, 1000-800 B.C. Sellin sees in the number ten a possible religious significance. These pillars had no cup-marks, but they probably belonged to a high-place. Beside these, Sellin found single monoliths before the entrances of houses. Since none of the houses with such monoliths in front of them had doorposts, we may see in them a substitute for these. The custom of smearing blood upon the doorposts of the houses, known from Exod. 12:7, comes to mind. These monoliths come from the Israelitish period.³³ At Megiddo two rooms with massebahs were found, one belonging to the fifth, the other to the sixth stratum.³⁴

In a later issue will follow a discussion of the different kinds of human sacrifice practiced in Canaan; of the idols, charms, amulets, etc., found in the excavated mounds, and their value in reconstructing the unofficial, everyday religion of the common people of the country; and finally, of the Egyptian and Babylonian influences which entered into the early religion of Palestine.

³³ *Tell Tasannek*, 103 f.

³⁴ *Musesellim*, 105 f., 125 f. Gressmann, *op. cit.*, 116 f., has brought together the references to pillars, massebahs, not connected with high-places, found in the Old Testament: (a) Memorial stones, to commemorate some event in the life of an individual, or in the history of the nation. Examples are the stones set up by the Israelites when they had crossed the Jordan (Josh., chap. 4) and the pillar set up and anointed by Jacob at Bethel; (b) Stones set up to commemorate a victory over the enemy, such as that set up by Samuel and called Eben-ezer, "stone of help" (I Sam. 7:12); (c) Grave-stones, as the massebah by the grave of Rachel between Bethel and Rama (Gen. 35:14); (d) Boundary stones, such as those set up by the treaty between Jacob and Laban (Gen. 31:44 f.); (e) Stones set up in pairs at the entrance to a temple, city or house (I Kings 7:21; II Kings 12:10; 23:8).

VIEWS OF THE BIBLE HELD BY MISSIONARIES IN INDIA

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The editor of the *Biblical World* has asked me for an article on "What theories of the inspiration of the Bible are actually held by missionaries in India, and which theory works best, the old-fashioned conservative view of plenary inspiration—religious, ethical, and historical inerrancy—or a more modern modification of this view." To help readers to judge the value of what I shall write, I would say that I am the son of Indian missionaries and have been myself a missionary in western India for thirty-five years. My work has been the ordinary service of a district missionary, of a theological seminary instructor, of a pastor of a large church, and of an editor of an Anglo-vernacular paper for some years. I have been the reader of many Indian publications. I have acquaintance with a large number of missionaries and of Christian and non-Christian Indian leaders. I began mission work as an old-fashioned orthodox man. Study and experience have led me to accept the general methods of the historical school of Bible interpretation and some of the results of those methods. First I give my own opinion and some reasons therefor, and then the opinions of others.

In reply to the first inquiry, "What theories of the inspiration of the Bible are actually held by missionaries in India?" I believe that the majority of the older missionaries and some of the younger members of the denominational missions, and the very great majority of the missionaries of various faith missions, of the Salvation Army, etc., hold the old-fashioned theory of the inerrancy of the Bible. But a considerable part of the younger missionaries and a respectable fraction of the older missionaries of the denominational missions hold a modified modern view. Some of the former class show by their teaching that their views have changed. They are reluctant to confess it and they are not always fully aware of it. Also in general those missionaries whose work is mostly with the lower and less intelligent

classes hold to the old view, while many of those who work for the better educated classes have accepted a modified view of the inspiration of the Scriptures which does not involve religious, ethical, or historical inerrancy. Naturally missionaries hold the views of their home churches. The average missionary has little time for reading scholarly western Christian literature. But the necessities of mission work are steadily compelling an increasing number of missionaries to accept the new views. The principal living religions of India, viz., Hinduism, Jainism, Islam, and, to a lesser extent, Zoroastrianism, are "book-religions," i.e., religions whose chief and final authority is a professedly inspired book of the past. If the missionary would destroy faith in the creeds of those religions he must assume, and when necessary show, that a "book-religion" is not and cannot be final for today or for the future. Like the Lord Jesus Christ, the missionary must appeal to the reason, conscience, and heart. So when addressing thinking Indians, while he can and does use the marvelous teachings of the Bible, he logically cannot, and practically does not, hold that Christianity, too, is a "book-religion," whose chief and final authority is in infallible teachings of the past. Christianity is a religion, not of a book, but with a book. Its chief authority, as our Lord himself taught, is the living Spirit of God. The thoughtful Indian ignorant of large portions of the Bible would not and should not be asked to recognize an infallible authority in a book of another religion. Practically all manner of religious and ethical difficulties are incessantly brought forward even by schoolboys, based upon the assumption that all Christians hold that the Bible is in all respects inerrant.

As to miracles: the untaught Indian has no difficulty in accepting all the miraculous narratives in the Old or New Testaments as historical, because such accounts are in entire accord with the spirit and assumptions of Indian religions which abound in vastly more marvelous stories. But as soon as Indians begin to lose faith in their own religions, inevitably they find it increasingly difficult to accept what seem improbable accounts in the Bible. Then for such persons, as for western men, biblical miracles do not promote faith in Christ, but are credible only on account of the supreme moral character and power of the Lord Jesus Christ. Hence the necessity of comparing

one religion with another is leading many Indian missionaries who once held that at least religious and ethical inerrancy are guaranteed by divine inspiration, to admit that this claim cannot be maintained. They accept the Pauline test of inspiration as correct; i.e., the working usefulness of any scripture is the proof of its inspiration. "Every scripture inspired of God is *profitable* for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work."

In reply to the second inquiry, "Which theory really works best?" my opinion is as follows: On the missionary himself whose view of inspiration changes after coming to India the first effect is similar to the effect on the minister at home. He is much disturbed in mind. But the more clearly he sees the historical and psychological correctness and working power of the historical and critical views of the Bible, the more illuminating, inspiring, and helpful he finds them to be, both for himself and for others. Yet because older missionaries and older Indian Christians view him with suspicion he fears that he may be going too far, and he often is timid in the expression of these conclusions. Nor does the effect on the ordinary Indian Christian clergyman and on the simple Indian Christian differ from that which is wrought in America upon men of similar position and attainments. They have been taught the old views, and of course the new views are unsettling. The old views of the inspiration of the Bible are practically like the claims for the inspiration of Hindu sacred books and for the Quran. Christians of the first generation often gave up their old religions because various things in those religions seemed wrong. But they did not give up the assumption that the final authority in any religion is in an inspired sacred book. Nor have most of these Indian ministers any knowledge whatever of the considerations which are leading Christian scholars in the West to the new views, nor of the growing weight of such considerations in the minds of thoughtful Indians. Yet some thoughtful Indian Christians and the great majority of thoughtful non-Christian Indians who think about the Bible find the very same difficulties which thinkers in the West feel with the old-fashioned view. I am convinced by a careful study of the Bible that religious, ethical, and historical inerrancy cannot be affirmed concerning all its statements. I am

compelled to the same position by the generally accepted view that a progressively fuller and fuller revelation of facts and truths is the divine method in what is called religion, as well as in what is called science, i.e., it is the divine method of God's entire education of his human children. What I know of modern psychology teaches the same lesson. So does the teaching of Jesus himself: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all the truth." I mention a few of the common objections of Indians to the Bible, to the Christian religion, and, by mistaken inference, even to the Lord Jesus Christ himself, due to the assumption that the Bible is an infallible book. Many of the Old Testament stories are felt to be incredible as authentic history. The imprecatory psalms are felt to be incompatible with ethical inerrancy. A thoughtful Hindu asked me, "What is your conception of the heaven to which the physical body of Jesus ascended?" Another asked how I could believe that Jesus actually said what in the Gospel of John he is claimed to have said, viz., "All that came before me are thieves and robbers." Another asked whether in the parable of Dives and Lazarus it was ethically satisfying to seem to teach that Lazarus would be forever blessed simply for having been poor in this world, and the rich man forever tormented, though he had been a heartless rich man. A great many objections to the Christian religion and to the Bible itself would be gone from the minds of thoughtful Indians, if it were understood and taught that it is not claimed that the Bible is an absolutely inerrant scripture. In the *Fortnightly Review* for September, 1909, in an article entitled, "Why I Am Not a Christian," written by an educated Indian gentleman, the statement is made: "The first reason why I am not a Christian is that I cannot receive the sacred books of Christianity at the valuation put upon them by the authoritative teachers of that religion." Had he not unfortunately been led to suppose that being a Christian would require him to accept the entire Bible as inerrant in all its parts, his main objection would have vanished. The second reason given is, "I am not a Christian because of the inherent incredibility of the Christian creed." This difficulty too would have been much less serious, had he not supposed that an inerrant Bible is the basis of the fundamental beliefs of Christianity.

His third reason is a difficulty in the acceptance of theism. But his initial and most serious difficulties are with the claims of many Christian teachers, both Romanist and Protestant, as quoted by him that, "Inspiration cannot possibly coexist with error, but is essentially incompatible with it, and excludes and rejects it absolutely and necessarily, since God himself, the Supreme Truth, cannot possibly be the author of any error." Hindus and Mahomedans more and more reverence the Lord Jesus Christ. More and more non-Christian Indians love and accept his teachings. A good many take him as their Guide and Master. But they are driven from him, and especially driven from his church, by the claim that one cannot be a Christian who does not accept the Bible as an infallibly inspired scripture. An excellent theistic paper, the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, says: "The dictates of love are more authentic declarations of the divine will than all the writings in the world." Sir George Clarke, the revered governor of Bombay, in his annual address to the University of Bombay, as its chancellor, this week quoted with commendation the following remark by an Indian scholar: "A critical inquirer is one who does not accept an account of an occurrence just as it is presented to him, whether orally or in writing. He subjects it to certain tests calculated to prove its truth or otherwise." Can anyone doubt that intelligent Indians who have rightly lost faith in the religious authority of their own sacred books will not accept a doctrine of an infallible Christian sacred book, especially when they know that multitudes of Christian scholars have given up such a belief? Nothing can be clearer than that the Lord Jesus himself taught his disciples that they would be guided into truth through obedience to the Holy Spirit of truth, and that he did not charge them to expect or to accept a written book as the final and infallible authority for spiritual verity. Should not his disciples and messengers present him as his own sufficient evidence to the minds and hearts of Indians, without seeking to require them to accept any interpretation of the degree of help which God gave to the writers of the Bible? The Bible is and may be left to make its own evidence in spiritual power without any doctrine as to how it came to be. Also in his recent Convocation address the governor of Bombay said, "I cannot do better than quote to you some words of Marcus Aurelius who sums

up all that I would impress on you if I had the power: "The salvation of life is to contemplate every object in its entirety and see what it is in essence, what is the formal element in it, and what the material; and to do the right, and speak the truth in all sincerity of heart!" Will the graduates of the University of Bombay who receive such counsel from their chancellor be drawn to or repelled from the Lord Jesus by the claim that even his biographies must be considered infallible?

In order to be able to quote the opinions of other missionaries and of Indian Christian leaders I addressed to some of them a letter of inquiry. I will now quote from some of the replies to that letter. I refrained from addressing this inquiry to men with whose views on inspiration I had reason to think that I was acquainted. Yet I sent the letter mainly to younger missionaries and Indian Christian leaders, because few of the older ones know from personal study and experience what the newer modified views are, and what are the results of teaching them. Answers came from missionaries and Indian Christian leaders connected with the following denominations: Baptist, Church of England, American and English Congregationalist, Danish, Presbyterian, and Y. M. C. A. The first question was, "Is the presentation of Christianity in India being modified in correspondence with the changes of Christian thought in Europe and America, relative to the inspiration of the Scriptures?" The most conservative answer was this: "We hold by the comparatively conservative teaching of Marcus Dods who thought that the virgin-birth, though not an essential of Christian faith, is a historical fact, and who held that the Bible, though by no means verbally inspired, is a trustworthy record." Other replies to this question were: "Undoubtedly yes, though in my opinion the change is scarcely thorough enough." "Yes, but not sufficiently widely." "There is a general tendency for missionaries to preach a living Christ, rather than an inspired volume." "The presentation of Christianity by Indian missionaries has perceptibly liberalized." "Modification is certainly taking place; it is in my college." "Not consciously, but practically, the presentation of Christianity is changing. The approach through an inspired book to a Christian position is not attempted; they press Christ on his own merits." "Yes, it is merely a matter of time for the modification

to become complete." "The doctrine of verbal inspiration is very seldom pressed on Hindus now-a-days by missionaries. When dealing with advanced inquirers we frankly adopt the modern historical standpoint."

My second question was, "Can the non-Christian religions and sacred books of India be examined properly and their characteristics estimated on any other principles and methods than those on which the Christian religion and the Bible are examined and presented? If not, is it not consistently necessary to use the historical method in presenting Christianity and its Scriptures to thoughtful Indians?" Every writer emphatically said that since the missionary could never assume or grant the claim of strict Hindus and Mahomedans that the non-Christian sacred books are infallibly inspired, it is impossible to make such a claim for the Bible when teaching non-Christians. One said, "Christians cannot compete with the Mahomedans as to plenary inspiration."

My third inquiry was, "Where the newer historical views and methods of teaching the Bible have been discerningly adopted and have been constructively and reverently used have the results been beneficial or detrimental as regards Indian Christians, and as regards non-Christians?" Some of the replies were as follows: "The woeful thing is that most of our Christians have been brought up on the old views of biblical inspiration. They naturally feel shocked in the same way that young people at home do, when they meet other views: but, if they go far enough, they get greater light. The new view certainly makes practical Bible teaching to non-Christian college students easier and more effective." "Where the newer historical views and methods of teaching have been adopted and taught to senior students and ripe men, whether Christian or non-Christian, the results have been altogether beneficial." "Beneficial only, with intelligent people, Christian and Hindu. The newer method is the only possible one." "Beneficial to both Christians and non-Christians." "Most decidedly beneficial." "I have known of a few cases where Indian Christians have been somewhat upset by newer historical views and methods, and where such views have tended to confirm Hindus in their favorite idea that all religions are essentially one. I do not regard this as the fault of the newer views and methods. But,

however right the views and good the methods, if they are wrongly used, harmful results do follow." "The effects have been often immediately detrimental, though I also hope and believe that they have been and will be ultimately beneficial." "The result has perhaps been to puzzle Indian Christians where they have not been trained to approach the Bible from the modern point of view, but to those who have been so trained the Bible becomes much more intelligible. Non-Christians who study the Bible find it much more intelligible when they are trained in the critical method. Non-Christians who have no real desire to study the Christian Scriptures do sometimes use their limited knowledge of the higher criticism against Christianity, just as Rationalists do in Europe." "Had more enlightened views of the Bible and Christianity been held by the missionaries of a hundred years ago, the foundations of our work would have been laid much more strongly, and we should have made more solid progress." "Old methods have done a great harm to the Indian Christian church. They have made the church as a whole too antiquated and too superstitious to cope with the present situation and demands of India. They have divided the church within itself." "We have a Brahmin convert whom it was my privilege to instruct from the time before he was baptized over five years ago. He was a quick student, and I taught him frankly my own point of view. I was surprised to see how readily he understood it. From observation of his use of the Bible, both for his own reading and for teaching school-children, I am convinced that the results are thoroughly beneficial. He has often thanked me for giving him different notions about the Bible from those of the average mission evangelists whom he has met. He seems singularly free from 'the letter that killeth,' and able to put into new word-forms 'the spirit that giveth life.' As regards non-Christians, I only feel that the older standpoint leaves us absolutely at the mercy of their legitimate criticism of such things as the ethics of parts of the Old Testament, the narratives of mythical miracles in the Pentateuch, and similar things. I should find it very hard to take a class of college students in any book of the Bible today, if I held the old view of plenary inspiration and inerrancy." "In some cases Indian Christians have left or have been compelled to leave the church. Orthodox opinion is too strong to permit them

to stay. But in some cases known to me, Indian Christians have been reclaimed from agnosticism (by the new view); and the results have been beneficial. It is certain that agnosticism can only be prevented by departing from setting forth those things as infallible truths which are received on authority, and which men begin to question as soon as their reasoning powers and information increase. In this college I can speak for myself and some of the staff. Our opinions, certainly my personal opinions, differ widely from current orthodoxy. However, I am inclined to believe that my teaching and that of my colleagues tends to influence both Christians and non-Christians beneficially. It is not subversive of faith but confirmatory of faith in God and the spiritual destiny of man through Christ."

The gospels tell how, on the first Easter morning, pious women went to the tomb of Jesus and mourned because they could not anoint his dead body, but how their sorrow was turned into joy by finding a living, instead of a dead, Lord. Similarly, as many Bible students and Bible lovers in the West have found the new viewpoint enhancing the intelligibility, the attractiveness, and the power of that holy book, so some missionaries and some Indians are coming to have a like joyful experience. Very recently a Church of England scholarly lady said to one of our mission, "When will the church be sufficiently grateful to the scholarly critics who have restored to her the living Bible which she had long lost?"

A CRITICISM OF PEDAGOGICAL FADS IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

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No one who is interested in education in a broad way can afford to ignore the Sunday school, for after the public school it is certainly the most influential formal influence in shaping the moral life of our country. To it English-speaking peoples, whether of the church or not, owe a great debt of gratitude for what it has accomplished in this very practical way. But in spite of all that simple justice requires one to say of the valuable result of its work, it is true that many of its plans and methods are open to very severe criticism on psychological, pedagogical, and practical grounds. This, of course, is primarily due to the fact that its great army of teachers—one and one-half millions in number in the United States alone—are all volunteers, and that they have taken up their work practically without training. The organized educational forces with which their efforts have allied them have done practically nothing to train them for greater efficiency. The fact that state universities, undenominational colleges, and normal schools are beginning to offer definite instruction for Sunday-school teachers is an evidence of the change of attitude that is appearing, largely as a result of the agitation and effort of the Religious Education Association.

Growing out of the antagonism between religion and science at the time when the modern educational movement began, and in the Sunday school fostered by conditions mentioned above, a strong tendency to separate instruction in the truths of religion from every other educational effort grew up, and still has very large influence. When we have taught a child these things it has been chiefly on one day of the week, in one building set apart for that purpose, and from one sacred book. Specialization and concentration have their value, but their dangers as well; it is not strange that there have been unfortunate results of this isolation of religious instruction from

everything else in life. Had the public schools recognized and emphasized the moral aim as they ought to have done, the outcome of these conditions would have had less significance for those outside of the church. As it is, the inefficiency of Sunday-school practice has brought loss to our social whole.

One result of this aloofness from other educational life on the part of the Sunday school has been the persistence of antiquated methods. For example, the catechism of formal questions and answers, which in the period of dogmatic theology was used in giving instruction in many branches but has long been abandoned in every phase of education but the religious, is still used and defended. More valuable methods are rapidly taking its place, but that this still persists unduly in some quarters is evidenced by the fact that there has recently come to the writer's hands the written statement of the official Sunday-school leader of one of the more important denominations to the effect that this is the ideal method of religious education for children under five years of age! Another illustration is found in the still common practice of using one uniform passage of Scripture for study by all grades of the school, whether the pupils are three or seventy-three years of age.

But these errors belong to a period that is rapidly passing and it is the newest tendencies that are to be very briefly discussed. These have grown out of a reaction against the loyalty to outworn methods which has just been mentioned. For the last few years many influential leaders have realized that the Sunday school has suffered from its failure to profit by the general advance of educational thought and practice, and there has been strong effort to remedy the error. It is not strange, in view of the conditions, that this has led to a rather indiscriminate adoption of methods and devices used in the public schools. Because the Bible is literature, and because it deals to some extent with history and geography, the methods of literary, historical, and geographical study have been introduced into the Sunday school, and thus the moral and religious aim has often been obscured and sometimes defeated. For this blunder secular educators have often been at fault in more than a negative way. Criticizing the Sunday school, they have insisted that the principles and fundamental methods of education are the same whether they are applied in the Sunday

school or the public school, whether one teaches Shakspeare or the Bible. The obvious truth of this statement has made it influential while the fact that it is a very broad generalization has permitted it to be misleading. The difficulty has been that neither the Sunday-school teachers nor their critics of the public schools have realized that not all of education is embodied in the textbooks or the formal methods of our present-day systems. The principles of moral and religious education have hardly yet been formulated, and certainly they have not as yet been agreed upon by any body of educators. When we know what they are we shall discover that the splendid moral influence of our public schools has been wrought in harmony with them, though not by formal methods that are consciously based upon them. When secular education has formulated its methods of moral education it may demand that they shall be accepted by the Sunday school.

Theoretically the danger of using for one educational purpose a method that has been shaped for another is obvious at a moment's thought. An educational method is always a means to an end. It stands between educational principles and an educational aim, but is shaped more largely by the latter. The influence of the aim is positive, constructive, definite; that of the principle is broad and general, and in practice is often restrictive rather than suggestive.

The practical difficulties in the case in hand are easily illustrated. A prominent educator, basing his suggestions frankly upon his ideals for literary study, recently said that if he could control the Sunday school he would dismiss the large body of teachers and hire a good reader to present the Bible in selected readings to the whole school. This would practically eliminate the element of personal influence which is one of the most valuable factors in moral education, and which has doubtless been the strongest force in the Sunday-school work of the past; for however much Sunday-school teachers have neglected other educational principles they have followed that important one which says, "Be what you would have your pupils become." Other plans of literary study which no better serve the the purpose of the Sunday school have been adopted in textbooks and in schools. Plans of study based upon the accepted ways of teaching history have been used. Adolescent pupils, in that period

of life when they respond so strongly to the teachings of Jesus, and when a single month may bring spiritual transformations that could not be wrought in years at an earlier or later period, are kept tracing on complicated charts his journeys through Palestine, or are employed in working out the synchronism of the kings of Israel and Judah. Usually whatever moral and religious significance one of these lessons has could be indicated in three sentences by the teacher, and could be found by him in the published work of any competent commentator.

One of the very prominent recent fads, largely due to this same desire to be "pedagogical" in the Sunday school, is the great emphasis upon modern methods of teaching geography. More than one of the recent systems of Sunday-school lessons has provided a whole year of geography lessons; some would introduce geography lessons from time to time in the ordinary courses; and others would have supplemental geography lessons associated with all or nearly all of the biblical instruction given between the ages of eight and eighteen. Maps are to be modeled in sand, clay, and paper pulp. Prepared outline maps are to be colored to indicate the political divisions and the physical features of the lands; details of rivers, cities, and routes of journeys are to be added; and finally original maps are to be constructed with great accuracy and neatness. And all of this in spite of the fact that the usual Sunday school provides for lesson periods of one-half hour per week through ten months of the year! As long as the public schools do not teach the geography of Bible lands (which would certainly be quite as appropriate to its function as to teach that of Greece or Rome, for we owe as many of our ideals to the Hebrews as to the Greeks or Romans) some geography should be taught in the Sunday school, and what is worth doing at all is worth doing well; but everything in the way of formal instruction that is necessary for ordinary intelligent study of the Bible can be given in a comparatively brief time, and as incidental to other lessons, somewhere between the tenth and fifteenth years.

The latest fad, which partly grew out of that last mentioned, deals with "manual work" or "expressional activities." Every child from the kindergarten up must have a notebook. In this the youngest trace words and paste pictures. Those who are a little older color the pictures and write the titles and perhaps simple texts. The next

grades write summaries of the lessons and decorate the notebooks. Whole sheets of ornamental borders are furnished. These are cut out by the pupils, pasted on the pages of the notebooks, and colored after the style of the illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Pupils who are still more mature cut up Testaments and by pasting construct harmonies of the gospels, using one of the best printed harmonies as a model. All of these activities, if they do not require too accurate and long-continued work, as is too often the case, are unobjectionable in themselves, but their relationship to the aims of the Sunday school is very remote at best. What it really is may be traced as follows: The Bible should have a place in the Sunday-school curriculum because of its moral and religious content; that this moral message may be fully comprehended some knowledge of the history which is contained in the writings and out of which they grew is necessary; as an aid to the comprehension of this history some knowledge of geography is desirable; the modeling of a map is one of the valuable means through which geographical knowledge may be gained—and that is precisely the nearest relation that map-making ever bears to the real aims of the Sunday school. And with the making of notebooks and all the rest of the manual work the relation is exactly the same. So far as they can be used to this end they are legitimate and desirable, but in many schools today they overshadow all else in the instruction. It may be added in passing that the most labored analysis fails to discover any relation between the pasting and coloring of the ornamental borders in the notebooks and the real aim of the Sunday school. It is possible that late in adolescence such work might be done in the spirit of the old monks, but surely never in case of the children between eight and twelve years of age for whom it is recommended. At all events, that mediaeval form of worship has been rejected by the modern church in favor of what it believes to be better ways of glorifying God; to revive it would be honoring the letter above the spirit in a most literal way.

All these activities, and others, have been urged by rather thoughtful leaders, who are really anxious to profit by the best in educational method, as applications of the principle of motor expression, which is beginning to mean so much in secular education. Every impression received in the class, they declare, must find expression in the activities

of the pupil; these are the activities used in the public schools; doubtless they are the right ones. Again, the principle is valid and of fundamental importance, but the difference of aim requires a different application. It is true enough that a moral lesson has never been learned until it has been lived, but that suggests something other than a notebook and a box of water colors. I have been told of a class of boys who on Sunday studied Bible heroes and pioneers of history and on Saturday played pioneers, dramatizing in an informal way the lesson of six days before. The lives of the pioneers are suitable lessons for the inculcation of moral heroism in boys and girls, but the real "expression" should be found in the lives of the children at home and at school in every form of play, not in the revival of the crude material and the superficial form of the lesson instead of its spirit. Sometime we shall not only relate the instruction more sympathetically and definitely with everyday life, but shall also learn to make the tactful guiding of young people in simple and informal service to those about them a vital integral part of the Sunday-school curriculum. Then, and only then, shall we apply that most important principle in our Sunday-school work.

In the various efforts to secure the gradation of the Sunday school there is manifest the same desire to profit by the experience and the thought of secular educators. Some of them are almost ludicrously crude and mechanical, yet they are the evidence of this worthy aim. A curiously widespread conception of the graded school is that its fundamental principle is to make the lessons for each grade a little harder than those of the next preceding one. Since it is possible that these words may sometime come under the eye of one who holds that view it may be said that it is no more difficult for the girl of nineteen to fall in love than for her sister of nine to play with her doll, but it is a very different thing, and one more appropriate to her time of life. Upon corresponding differences of interest and impulse in the moral and religious life the gradation of the Sunday school should be based.

In other circles gradation is based wholly upon the passing of examinations on the work prescribed for each grade, which may be and often is exceedingly ill-adapted for children of the age at which they are expected to take it. This not only ignores the vital principle of gradation, but applies what is practically a memory test as the basis

for promotion. Again, in many of the best schools the pupil is assigned to the same grade in the Sunday school as that to which he is assigned in the public school. This plan, which is often indorsed and recommended by public-school teachers, is almost as crude a blunder as those mentioned above. Whether it should be so or not, the pupil's grade in the public school is determined almost entirely by his intellectual attainments. The Sunday school exists for training in morality and religion, and these are essentially matters of the emotional life. The intellectual test, particularly when it deals with attainments rather than development, has no great value here. The man of fifty who cannot read does not belong in the primary class of the Sunday school. He must live a man's life, solve a man's problems, and fight a man's battles: he will receive most help in a class of men. He will be hampered at times by his lack of elementary education, but here is his place, and no one would refuse it to him. But the same principle applies with equal force to the dull child who misses a grade in public school but physically and morally and religiously continues to develop as do others of his age. The age and size of the child are quite as significant as his place in the public school, and commonly afford a more accurate test of moral and religious development.

The true basis for gradation in any school is found in the fact that in developing human life there are successive stages in which different opportunities are offered to the teacher. Successful gradation consists in so ordering the educational effort that each opportunity shall be used to the utmost as it appears. Gradation in the Sunday school should include four steps: (1) the separation of the pupils into groups on the basis of the general development of their moral and religious natures, as far as this can be ascertained; (2) the selection of lessons which shall be designed especially to meet the needs and opportunities of these various stages of religious development; (3) the selection of teachers in view of their fitness to deal with particular grades, and the provision of training which will enable them to become specialists in their particular fields; (4) the organization and management of the school in such a way as to facilitate the three steps just mentioned. On the basis of such simple and fundamental conceptions as these it would seem to be possible for the Sunday school to shape plans which

would really further its own work, instead of aping in a superficial way what is done in the public schools.

The last few years have added very largely to the number of courses of study designed for use in the Sunday school, and there has been real progress toward the production of a worthy curriculum of moral and religious education. A very few of the books, judged by the strictest psychological and pedagogical tests, seem quite as good as the better texts used in the corresponding grades in the public schools; the majority fall below this level, and a considerable number seem so defective in conception or in execution as to be unworthy of use.

Among those who have recently sought to prepare curricula covering several grades of the Sunday school there has commonly been some knowledge of modern educational principles (a qualification which until very recently was wholly ignored), and partly because of this, and partly because tradition has prescribed the content of religious education more rigidly than the method, there has been less blind following of the public schools than in method and gradation. There are, however, some serious faults due to what appear to the writer to be misconceptions of the aim of the Sunday school.

To leaders in certain circles the purpose of the Sunday school is to prepare for church membership. Where this is the case it is not strange that the ritual of worship, the church year, and the church doctrines should dominate the whole scheme of instruction even for the youngest children, and that there should be little or no effort to provide for pupils who are over fifteen or sixteen years of age.

To other leaders the Sunday school is a Bible school in the strictest literal sense: its aim is to give a knowledge of the sacred book. Several prominent curricula that appear as rivals to the international system illustrate this tendency by unduly emphasizing the effort to give familiarity with the content of the book from the point of view of the development of the Hebrew religion and the Christian church, or from that of modern critical Bible-study. These curricula offer very good courses, and are doing much to prepare the way for better ideals and materials of religious education; some courses such as they have provided the Sunday school surely needs: but before anything like the ideal curriculum can be approached there must be a broader basis for its determination. The aim of character-building,

the bringing to perfection of the moral and religious nature of the child, the youth, the man, must be accepted as the fundamental purpose of the school, with recognition of the church and the Bible as means to this end—but not the only ones. The Bible will doubtless remain the chief textbook of the Sunday school, but we must recognize the fact that God has not revealed himself through Hebrew prophets and Christian apostles alone. In nature and in biography, in history and in science there are lessons that do not claim inspiration for themselves, but that are as truly messages from God. They have both a moral and a religious significance, and it must not be ignored.

The old theological curriculum has practically passed away. The ecclesiastical and the strictly biblical (which makes knowledge of the Bible rather than response to its teachings the end of the instruction) must also pass. The one which shall worthily supersede them must be one that seeks to foster and further the unfolding of the whole higher nature, providing such lessons as will interpret to the pupil his own moral and religious experiences, guide him through the various crises of his moral and religious development, and provide for healthy expression of his moral and religious impulses.

We have as yet but an imperfect knowledge of the facts that must indicate what such a curriculum should be, for they can be discovered only by careful study of the developing moral and religious life; but such studies as have been carried on for a dozen years at Clark University, more recently at the Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy, and sporadically in other institutions, have given a fair basis for a beginning, and the influence of such generalizations as can now be made is in some degree apparent in the best of the most recent attempts at curriculum making.

JOHN THE BAPTIST AS FORERUNNER

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By the ordinary, uncritical reading of the New Testament Scriptures one gets a very imperfect and one-sided view of John the Baptist. Unless allowance is made for the purpose of the writers, one is led not only to underrate the independence of John's personality and work and the profound influence which his propaganda exerted in general upon the people of his time, but even to overlook entirely John's real attitude toward Jesus and the effect which it had upon the early Christian church.

It is not at all strange that this should be so, for of course John is a person of secondary importance to New Testament writers. Their aim is to exalt *Jesus*, to defend *his* claim to faith, and to win others thereto. Under the circumstances, the strange thing is that they should have preserved at all some of the facts which they furnish regarding John.

It is the purpose of this article to examine the New Testament material regarding the Baptist. It will be found that there are strong grounds for assigning him a function very different from that of the forerunner of Jesus, which was the capacity in which the gospel writers grew more and more to view him.

In discussing this material, it will be assumed (*a*) that Mark is the earliest of the four canonical gospels; (*b*) that John is the latest; (*c*) that Matthew and Luke are chronologically intermediate between these two, but that they are much nearer to Mark than to John in point of development; and (*d*) that these intermediate gospels are practically independent of one another. These assumptions are so well attested, and their validity is so well recognized, that there is no need of sacrificing space here in their defense. But they could scarcely find better illustration than is furnished below.¹

¹ As to the first three assumptions, the growth of the ideas which we are to discuss takes the course Mark-Matthew-John, or Mark-Luke-John, when only Matthew or

1. John's ministry secured wide attention. This requires no explanation. In his day, any man who had news of the coming Messiah could not fail of at least a hearing. If, in addition, his ascetic appearance and his desert fare of carob beans and wild honey, his shaggy garments of camel's hide, and the leathern girdle which held them together, his supreme fearlessness and his scorching rebuke reminded irresistibly of the great Elijah,² whose return Malachi³ had promised "before the great and terrible day of Jehovah come," such a one would gain a mighty grip upon his hearers. This is precisely what John succeeded in doing, as will appear in detail.

We must not forget that the common people, at any rate, had nothing to lose and everything to gain from the reign of the Coming One. He, under God, was to "put down the mighty from their seats and exalt them of low degree." He was to throw off the hated Roman yoke and let the oppressed go free. And so multitudes came and listened to John in the desert.

The writers of the first three gospels state this fact unmistakably.⁴ Indeed, they seem to do this consciously and without reserve. As the Baptist was the harbinger of the Messiah, and as their beloved Master, Jesus, was the Messiah, large audiences to listen to John's messianic preaching were really a compliment to Jesus.

It is an interesting contrast which the Fourth Gospel presents at this point. The Fourth Gospel⁵ mentions neither multitudes nor preaching in connection with the Baptist. We shall not be surprised at this after proceeding a little farther.

2. All four of the gospels⁶ agree that John declared publicly, and in strong terms, his own inferiority to the coming Messiah. It was a

Luke is represented. As to the fourth, when Matthew and Luke are both involved, the growth follows through the gospels in one of the series Mark-Matthew-Luke-John, or Mark-Luke-Matthew-John. In other words, it is sometimes Matthew and sometimes Luke which represents the more advanced stage of development.

² Matt. 3:4; Mark 1:6. Cf. II Kings 1:1-8.

³ Mal. 4:5.

⁴ Matt. 3:5. Mark 1:5. Luke 3:7; 7:29.

⁵ In order to avoid the possibility of confusion as between John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, the Gospel of John will hereafter be referred to as the Fourth Gospel.

⁶ Matt. 3:11 f.; Mark 1:7 f.; Luke 3:16 f.; John 1:26 f. Cf. Acts 13:25.

rather strange thing for him to do. Not that there was anything strange in his feeling so. That was a psychological necessity. And there is no reason at all for doubt as to the genuineness of his feeling. It is because of that very genuineness that it could hardly have occurred to John to give utterance to his feeling, unless something external had called it out. The words have the sound of a disclaimer. Were they that?

Mark and Matthew do not tell us, but Luke and the Fourth Gospel do. Luke⁷ says that "all men" were reasoning in their hearts whether haply John was not himself the Messiah! If John knew this, no wonder that he uttered an indignant remonstrance straight out from his honest heart. But that thought of the people was a mighty testimony to John's personality. When we remember what it cost the apostolic church to secure messianic recognition for Jesus, we shall understand how significant it is that writers belonging to that church testify to the ease with which John the Baptist could have had it.

The Fourth Gospel⁸ gives a much more elaborate account, both of the circumstances of John's disclaimer and of its content. It represents the current idea of the people as mightily disturbing to the hierarchy at Jerusalem, and it declares that the latter appointed a special ecclesiastical committee, and sent it down to take John's denial officially. Moreover, the denial is far more comprehensive than in the Synoptic Gospels, for John is put on record as being neither the Christ, *nor Elijah, nor "that prophet" like unto Moses*; but only a voice, a "witness" to the Coming One.

That John should be represented as denying that he was Elijah is particularly noticeable. The Synoptic Gospels know nothing of this. On the contrary, Mark and Matthew⁹ tell us that John *was* the Elijah who was to come as the herald of the Messiah, and they give Jesus himself as their authority.¹⁰ But we shall find that this denial is quite characteristic of the Fourth Gospel, which endeavors

⁷ Luke 3:15.

⁸ John 1:19-24.

⁹ Matt. 11:14; 17:10-13; Mark 9:11 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. the language of John 5:35, taken from Ecclus. 48:1.

at every opportunity to withhold from John all official status whatsoever, other than that of a "witness" to Jesus.¹¹

Such a development as this in the Christian accounts of John's denial seems significant. It looks as if the influence of John's cult was a powerful one during the period in which the gospels were being written, and that it had to be reckoned with in Christian apologetics. This point will receive additional support as we proceed.

3. There is no reason to suppose that John was a wonder-worker, or that he wished to be so considered. But not one of the Synoptic Gospels says he was not, or indeed says anything about it.¹² It is the Fourth Gospel¹³ only which does this, when it quotes people "beyond Jordan" as saying that "John indeed did no sign."

The contrast in this matter of "signs" is of course, as before, between John and Jesus. And that gospel which alone denies "signs" to John is the one which attaches greatest weight to the "signs" of Jesus.¹⁴ But how gratuitous and inane it would have been to contrast Jesus and John in this matter, except under the compulsion of a situation such as that just now suggested.

4. Again, Mark and Luke¹⁵ state that John preached his baptism of repentance "unto remission of sins." The phrase "unto remission of sins" calls for special attention. What does it mean in connection with John? Do these writers mean to admit that John's ministry, *independently of Jesus*, brought remission of sins to anyone? If they do, it is a very remarkable admission for them to make, for it is a direct negation of that natural and triumphant assertion of Peter before the Sanhedrin, when he said of Jesus, "For neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must

¹¹ Cf. John 1:8. The other gospels deny John's messiahship only by way of quotation. Cf. also John 5:33-36, where the comparatively small value of even the Baptist's "witness" is specifically emphasized.

¹² An apparent exception is Mark 6:14 f. But the meaning seems to be that Herod explained Jesus' "powers" by the assumption that John had *returned from the dead*. There is no reason for supposing that Herod drew his conclusion from any wonders previously performed by John *the man*.

¹³ John 10:41. Cf. 5:36; 15:24.

¹⁴ John 2:11, 23; 3:2; 4:54; 5:36; 6:2, 14, 26, 30; 7:31; 9:16; 10:32, 38; 11:47; 12:18, 37; 14:11; 15:24; 20:30.

¹⁵ Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3.

be saved.”¹⁶ Surely, if it be correct to suppose that these Christian writers attribute remission of sins to John’s ministry, independently of Jesus, then we must believe that they were compelled to do so by the overmastering force of tradition. It must be that multitudes still remembered the peace of soul which had come to them through obedience to John’s message. How indeed can it be known that sins have been remitted, except by such an experience, or by the testimony of those who have had it?

However, let us be quite sure as to the point at issue. It is not a question as to whether the Baptist forgave sins, or whether Mark or Luke or the Baptist thought he did. The point is, rather, that according to the alternative which we are now discussing, Mark and Luke mean that sins were forgiven *by God*, through John’s ministry, *in advance of the appearance of Jesus* upon the scene.

Of course there is the other alternative. Perhaps they are intending to say that John only prepared his penitent hearers so that they received remission later from Jesus (or at any rate through Jesus) when the latter came to grant it. However, if this is their meaning, they have taken a curiously blind and inadequate way of expressing it. And furthermore, if this alternative is correct, why do not the later gospels emphasize the idea? They are quick enough otherwise to seize upon every possible point of advantage for Jesus. Instead, they progressively push the whole matter into the background.

In Matthew,¹⁷ for example, the people still *confess* their sins, as in Mark, but nothing at all is said of “remission.” But surely if remission was secured for John’s converts only from Jesus, or even through him, as we are now supposing, that fact would seem to be a very helpful and desirable thing to use when a Christian writer is defending the messiahship of Jesus. It is worth noting that Luke himself also, who testifies *in the gospel* (his “former treatise”) of repentance “unto remission of sins,” as has been said, still speaks indeed of repentance in his second treatise¹⁸ when referring to the Baptist, but omits “remission” just as Matthew does.

Naturally, the Fourth Gospel goes still farther. Indeed, it reduces the content of John’s ministry to a minimum. Not only is nothing said of “remission,” but nothing is said about confession, nor yet

¹⁶ Acts 4:12.¹⁷ Matt. 3:6.¹⁸ Acts 13:24; 19:4.

about repentance, in connection with the ministry of the Baptist. As we saw above, even the preaching of John has gone, so that the only function which his ministry enjoys, aside from the testimony to Jesus, is the baptism with water. Perhaps this item could not yet be omitted. It is easy to see that the strength of the tradition which supported it may still have been too great, both among John's disciples, and, what is more to the point, among Christians also. However that may be, the retention of the baptism with water is made to serve a useful purpose. It gives point and significance to the assertion (made nowhere else) that Jesus did not baptize with water!¹⁹

It seems then that Mark and Luke did mean what they said, when they attributed remission of sins to John's ministry. But it seems also that they could not have appreciated how their remark would strike the church, bye and bye. In all likelihood, they had never thought the matter through. That appears not to have been done till later. It is an interesting process, this stripping of John for the supposed advantage of Jesus. One is irresistibly reminded of that reputed saying of the Baptist (which also, by the way, is found only in the Fourth Gospel), "He (Jesus) must increase, but I must decrease."²⁰ The saying was certainly true to fact, whether John ever said it *of Jesus* or not. And it must be admitted that the growth of tradition in the Christian church, as we observe it in the four gospels, ably assisted in making it true.

¹⁹ It may be urged that while this particular remark is found only in the latest gospel, it is after all only another way of stating a contrast between John and Jesus regarding baptism, which is just as clearly drawn in the Synoptic Gospels, and in the Acts also (Matt. 3:11 f.; Mark 1:7 f.; Luke 3:16 f.; Acts 1:5). But it should be noted that the Synoptic Gospels never suggest for a moment that the contrast between John's baptism with water and the greater baptism with the Holy Spirit was fulfilled during Jesus' earthly ministry, and the passage in the Acts expressly shows that it was not intended to be. The Fourth Gospel, on the contrary, represents it as actually having been fulfilled on the evening of the resurrection day! (John 20:22). So we have this situation: (a) the Synoptic Gospels do not feel called upon to deny that Jesus baptized with water, while the Fourth Gospel does. (b) The Synoptic Gospels appear to have no idea that Jesus baptized with the Holy Spirit, or was expected to do so, while on earth. The Fourth has just that idea, and mentions the occasion on which he did it. And so it is the Fourth Gospel again in which John and Jesus are put farthest apart. What a personage the Baptist must have been, to command such attention on the part of the church!

²⁰ John 3:30.

Before leaving the subject of remission of sins one other point should be noted. If anyone still thinks that Mark and Luke mean that remission was only prepared for under John, and was to be secured later through Jesus, he is bound to show that John's disciples became Christians when Jesus appeared. Otherwise, according to this view of the writers' intention, remission of sins for John's converts could have no meaning whatsoever. Did John's disciples thus become Christians? Did John recommend them to do that? If so, did he himself become the personal disciple of Jesus? Indeed, did John recognize Jesus as the Messiah at all, and did he bear testimony thereto? These are certainly fundamental questions. It will be convenient to consider the last of them first.

5. When Jesus appeared, did John recognize him, and give testimony to his messiahship? At this point we face a strange situation. Neither Mark nor Luke says that he did. Astounding silence, under the circumstances! John was certainly considered the forerunner of Jesus by both of these writers, and yet they do not mention that he recognized Jesus, or proclaimed him to be the Messiah! Why the silence? Couldn't they speak? From the viewpoint of any Christian writer, to recognize Jesus and to testify to him would be the most important of all functions in the ministry of Jesus' forerunner. Indeed, they would be his only functions of real importance.

The Christian community appears to have been aware of this, for presently the situation improves, though gradually. Recognition comes first, and later, the testimony. According to Matthew,²¹ John objects to baptizing Jesus because of his own unworthiness, and only consents to do so when he receives Jesus' direct command. It is to be noted that this is essentially a private recognition. There is no public proclamation by John, and there is no suggestion that anyone knew of the recognition at the time except Jesus himself.²²

²¹ Matt. 3:14 f.

²² It will be noted, of course, how the addition of this conversation by Matthew necessitates a recasting of the testimony of the Voice. In Mark and Luke, the Voice speaks to Jesus—"Thou art." In Matthew, where Jesus is already aware of his divinely appointed office, such an announcement directed to him would be superfluous. In Matthew, then, the Voice says, "This is." It is not Jesus who is addressed, but the bystanders.

It may be remarked in passing, that throughout this discussion emphasis is laid

Thus, not one of the Synoptic Gospels tells us that John testified publicly to Jesus, while two of them, including the oldest, do not even say that he recognized him. Quite on the contrary, we are told in Luke, and curiously enough under the circumstances in Matthew also, that the last thing which John did was to send disciples of his to Jesus, who by that time had attracted much attention, to ask if *he* were the Messiah, or whether the Messiah was still to come!

It is not until we turn to the Fourth Gospel that we find the Baptist bearing testimony publicly and in unmistakable terms to the official dignity of Jesus. "Yesterday," says the Baptist in effect, "I received the divinely appointed Sign of the Dove, and I know and declare yonder One to be the Lamb of God."²³

Perhaps there is an implication also²⁴ that this testimony by John was delivered to the committee from Jerusalem, along with the denial of his own personal messiahship.

Now let us disregard for a moment the perfect silence of the Synoptic Gospels as to John's public testimony to Jesus. Further, let us suppose that John's unfortunate question, of which they do tell us (and of which the Fourth Gospel naturally does not speak) was the outcome of imprisonment—the result of disordered nerves, brought on by loneliness. And let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the statement of the Fourth Gospel regarding public testimony is historic. What was obviously the next thing for the

upon the sort of pressure by which the growth of the gospel tradition was necessitated, and upon the direction which that growth took, rather than upon the particular garments in which the tradition became successively clothed. In the case before us, for example, it has been frequently pointed out that there is a striking parallelism between the colloquy of John and Jesus regarding the propriety of Jesus' submission to baptism, and a similar passage from the life of Gautama the Buddha.

²³ John 1:33 f. Cf. also vs. 15, though the text is uncertain. It is an interesting question whether the writers of the gospels, and particularly those of the later gospels, are themselves responsible for the progressive stages of development which appear in their records. A categorical answer to this question is probably impossible. It seems to the present writer more likely that each of the Synoptic Gospels gives us in the main a sort of photograph of the form in which the gospel tradition was held and told in its own time and environment. But it would be quite gratuitous on the other hand to deny that the photograph may often have been retouched, or even hand-illuminated, by the artist. Especially large concessions of this sort will have to be made to explain the record of the Fourth Gospel.

²⁴ John 5:33; cf. however John 3:28.

Baptist to do? What was that act for which his whole ministry had been simply a preparation, so far as John himself was concerned, and without which his "testimony" is fatally compromised? To make his testimony good, he should have taken his disciples, who indeed had been waiting for the signal ever since their baptism, and should have put himself and them at Jesus' orders in the way of personal discipleship. This he did not do. On the contrary, all four of the gospels assume that John went right on with his work, until Herod stopped him by imprisonment. More than that, the same gospel which asserts that John testified publicly to Jesus, tells us also that John carried on a sort of competition with the disciples of Jesus as to numerical success in the making of converts.²⁵ And finally, there is an intimation in two of the gospels²⁶ that John was not considered by the Christian community as a member of the kingdom of God—at any rate he is said to be less than the "lesser ones" therein. It would seem reasonably clear therefore that John did not join the band of Christian disciples. Hence it is difficult to believe that John recognized Jesus as the Messiah, and very much more difficult to believe that he testified publicly to his messiahship.

6. If John himself did not become Christian, perhaps his disciples did. Next to the Christian discipleship of John, that of even a portion of his disciples would have been a mightily welcome testimony to the messiahship of Jesus. It is just the sort of testimony, one would think, which Christian writers would have been glad to transmit, if they could. But there is no evidence in the three earliest gospels that a single one of John's disciples transferred allegiance to Jesus, or that John recommended them to do so. On the contrary, there is evidence that some of them did not.

For example, the messengers had not, whom John sent to Jesus, as mentioned above.²⁷ Otherwise they could have given John an answer of their own; and doubtless it would have been a shorter one, and perhaps more calculated to convince John, than the one Jesus himself gave.

²⁵ John 3:26; 4:1. Of course John had the losing end of the competition.

²⁶ Matt. 11:11b; Luke 7:28b. The words are found *in the mouth of Jesus*. Something further will be said of these passages below.

²⁷ Matt. 11:2-6; Luke 7:18-23.

Then again, as Matthew²⁸ tells us, there were those disciples of John who asked Jesus why he did not inculcate fasting on the part of his followers, as their master did, and likewise the Pharisees. These disciples had not been won over. Quite the contrary. They were comparing their own master with Jesus, much to the supposed disadvantage of the latter. It is true that Mark and Luke,²⁹ who narrate the same incident, do not represent the criticism as coming directly from John's disciples. But the *distinction* between the disciples of Jesus and those of John is just as sharply drawn in Mark and Luke as it is in Matthew. The critics, whoever they are, are quite as sure as in Matthew of the correctness of the conduct of John's disciples on the one hand in this matter of ceremonial, and of the reprehensible and unorthodox looseness of Jesus' disciples on the other.

When John had been beheaded, his disciples buried the body, according to Mark and Matthew.³⁰ Matthew adds that they came then and told Jesus, who withdrew at once to the desert. This additional clause of Matthew appears to enjoy the distinction of being the only passage in the Synoptic Gospels which suggests even friendliness toward Jesus on the part of John's disciples. Moreover, as Jesus' informants have evidently remained disciples of John thus far, and as there is no intimation that they followed Jesus even after the death of their master, Matthew's addition seems to imply no more than a friendly warning of a common danger.

The Fourth Gospel does not mention any of these incidents.

But there is still more evidence that John's disciples remained distinct and independent, and continued to "look for another." It is found in the facts regarding Apollos and certain others at Ephesus.³¹

Apollos belonged in Alexandria. We are told that he was a man of great power and eloquence. Although Jesus had been dead about twenty years already, Apollos was still arguing mightily from the Old

²⁸ Matt. 9:14-17.

²⁹ Mark 2:18-22; Luke 3:33-39.

³⁰ Mark 6:29; Matt. 14:12a.

³¹ Acts 18:24-19:7.

Testament Scriptures that the Messiah was coming!³² *He knew only the baptism of John*, we are told. He came over to Ephesus to preach there also, and being discovered by Priscilla and Aquila, who had been converted by Paul at Corinth, he was taken into their home. These Christians convinced him that Jesus was the very Messiah whom he had been expecting and preaching. Whereupon, with no abatement of power or eloquence, he began to preach from the Christian text, "*Jesus is the Messiah.*"

If John, twenty odd years before, had believed that Jesus was the Messiah and had said so, how did it happen that so zealous and intelligent a follower of his did not know of it? Apollos surely had not been living in a corner. He appears to have had no great difficulty in accepting the new truth or in adjusting himself quickly to it, when at last it was brought home to him.

It is clear that Apollos, in ignorance of Jesus' messiahship, had been trying to carry on the work of his master, John, as the herald of a Messiah *yet to come*, just as Paul was doing in those same days for *his* Master, the risen and glorified Jesus, who not only was the Messiah, but was soon to come a *second* time.

Presently, Apollos went over to Corinth to preach his Christian sermon there also. During his absence Paul came to Ephesus, and found about a dozen others who were adherents of the faith of John the Baptist. These received the same service from Paul which Apollos had enjoyed at the hands of Priscilla and Aquila.

Now it seems quite improbable that these dozen men had had any direct connection with Apollos. If they had been Apollos' converts, they certainly would have heard from him about Jesus also and about the gifts of the Spirit, just so soon as he himself came to know of them. The record shows clearly that they knew nothing of either. Apparently, they were as independent of Apollos at Ephesus as he had been of them at Alexandria.

These events occurred during the third missionary journey of Paul.

³² Quoting exactly, "he taught accurately the things concerning Jesus." But the sense of the whole passage makes it clear that he taught accurately the things concerning the *Messiah*, and that it was not Apollos as yet, but the writer of the Acts, for whom Jesus and the Messiah were synonymous terms.

It will be noticed that the only disciples of John who are mentioned in the Acts are these who became Christian converts. How many more of them may we suppose there were in those days, dispersed among the great world centers, who retained their primitive faith and so are not mentioned?³³

Just as the public testimony to Jesus' messiahship is found only in the Fourth Gospel, so also it is only in the Fourth Gospel that we find a statement that any disciples of John followed Jesus, *during the lifetime of the latter*. There we are told that "on the morrow," when the Baptist pointed a second time to Jesus as the Lamb of God, Andrew and one other who is not named, but who is usually identified with John the son of Zebedee, both of whom are said to have been disciples of the Baptist at the time, left John and followed Jesus.³⁴

Now as to this, we find in two of the earlier gospels, namely in Mark and Matthew,³⁵ a totally different account of what seems to have been considered by them the beginning of the Christian discipleship of Andrew and of John the son of Zebedee. According to these, the scene is the shore of the Sea of Galilee, and not the southern Jordan; the time is after the Baptist's ministry has been ended by imprisonment; Andrew does not come to Jesus first and then find his brother Simon; Jesus finds them both, and at the same time; and he finds not only them, but John and James also, and all are busily engaged in the earning of a livelihood, and, to all appearances at least, unattached.

Of course it would be futile to insist dogmatically that these divergent accounts of the beginning of the Christian discipleship of Andrew and John the son of Zebedee are totally irreconcilable. But one thing may fairly be said. If Mark and Matthew knew that John and Andrew had previously been the disciples of the Baptist, they missed a grand tribute to their Master when they omitted to mention the fact.

³³ From the fact that the later gospels feel most keenly the necessity of emphasizing in these positive ways John's inferiority to Jesus, one might be pardoned for the conjecture that the cult of John reached the point of its greatest strength in the period between the date of the composition of Mark and that of the Fourth Gospel.

³⁴ John 1:35 ff.

³⁵ Mark 1:16-20; Matt. 4:18-22.

THE HEBREW IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

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V. YAHWEH'S RELATION TO THE DEAD IN THE LATER HEBREW RELIGION

In the preceding article,¹ we saw how prophetism in its polemic against ancestor-worship destroyed belief in the primitive Semitic doctrine of spirits. From the time of Moses down to the completion of the canon of the Law about 400 B.C. the attitude of the Old Testament religion toward immortality was increasingly negative, until at last existence in Sheol was so stripped of content that it became practically equivalent to annihilation. If it was not eternal death, it was at least eternal sleep. During this entire period, however, another movement of thought was going on that was destined in a later age to create a new belief in immortality. This concerned itself with the problem of rewards and punishments. This problem called forth in ancient Israel a succession of theories that deserve our detailed consideration.

1. *The theory of collective retribution.*—The early Hebrews brought into Canaan as an inheritance from primitive Semitic times a strong sense of the solidarity of the family and of the clan. Tribes were spoken of in the singular, as Israel, Moab, Ammon, and the identity of the individual was lost in the group. The logical corollary of this conception was the assumption of collective responsibility for the sins of individuals. Saul sought to kill David's relatives on his account (I Sam. 22:1, 3 f.), and annihilated the clan of Ahimelech the priest because he had befriended David (I Sam. 22:16). David proposed to cut off the entire family of Nabal because of the insolence of the head of the house (I Sam. 25:22). The seven sons of Saul were hanged because of his attack on the Gibeonites (II Sam. 21:6 ff.). The sons of Naboth were slain with him (II Kings 9:26).

¹ *Biblical World*, April, 1910.

It seemed eminently natural, accordingly, to the ancient Hebrew that Yahweh should deal with the group rather than the individual, and should bring the punishment of the sinner, or the reward of the righteous, upon his family, his clan, or his nation, rather than upon himself. Yahweh visited the penalty of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hated him (Exod. 20:5). The Canaanites were enslaved because of the guilt of their remote ancestor (Gen. 9:24 f.). Pharaoh and his house were plagued because he had taken Sarah (Gen. 12:17 J). The wombs of the house of Abimelech were closed for the same offense (Gen. 20:18 E). The firstborn of Egypt were smitten for the sin of Pharaoh (Exod. 12:29 J). Amalek was destroyed because its forefathers attacked Israel (Exod. 17:16; I Sam. 15:2 f.). Dathan and Abiram were engulfed with their wives, their sons, and their little ones (Num. 16:27 ff. JE). Achan was slain with his sons and his daughters, his oxen and his asses, his sheep and all that he had (Josh. 7:24 J). The sin of Eli was visited upon his descendants (I Sam. 2:31). The blood of Abner fell upon the father's house of Joab (II Sam. 3:29). David's child was killed and the sword never departed from his house because of his sin (II Sam. 12:10, 14 f.). Solomon was told, "I will surely rend the kingdom from thee Notwithstanding in thy days I will not do it, for David thy father's sake; but I will rend it out of the hand of thy son" (I Kings 11:11 f.). The house of Jeroboam was cursed for the sin of its founder (I Kings 14:10), so also that of Baasha (I Kings 16:3), and of Ahab (I Kings 21:21). The early prophets held the same conception. Amos announced as the punishment of Amaziah, "Thy wife shall be a harlot in the city, and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword" (Amos 7:17). These prophets always asserted that the penalty due the ruling classes should fall upon the nation as a whole (cf. Amos 8:8; Hos. 3:4; Isa. 5:25-30; Mic. 3:12). In like manner the rewards of virtue accrued to the family of the righteous (Gen. 7:1 J; 19:12 J; II Sam. 6:11; I Kings 11:12; Deut. 1:36).²

Faith in this primitive theory of retribution was shaken by the advent of a new social order in Israel. In the period of the monarchy, through trade and life in cities, the ancient tribal organization began

² See Löhr, *Socialismus u. Individualismus im A. T.*

to break up, and a new importance was attached to the individual. This shows itself in the social legislation of Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code (Lev., chaps. 17-26), both promulgated shortly before the Exile, in contrast to the Book of the Covenant and early Hebrew custom. The rights of women in divorce are guarded by Deut. 24:1 f. Female slaves are granted the same right of redemption as male slaves (Deut. 15:12; cf. Exod. 21:7), and it is forbidden to return a runaway slave to his owner (Deut. 23:15 f.). By the Holiness Code (Lev. 25:42) all enslavement of Hebrews is prohibited. In Deut. 20:5-8; 24:5 a number of circumstances are enumerated under which an individual is exempt from military service. The right of parents to offer their children in sacrifice is no longer recognized (Deut. 12:31; 18:10; Lev. 18:21), and it is forbidden to put children to death for the crimes of their fathers, or fathers for the crimes of children (Deut. 24:16; cf. the editorial passage in II Kings 14:6).

Individualism was fostered also by the religion of the prophets. In their inaugural visions they were conscious of a personal communion with Yahweh that did not depend upon the fact that they were members of the commonwealth of Israel. The nation was against them, yet their confidence was unshaken that they had stood in the council of the Most High. This experience was exemplified most perfectly in Jeremiah, whose faith in God's individual care for his saints triumphed amid the downfall of the nation (Jer. 1:17-19; 17:5-18; 20:7-11), and led him to assert that in the coming age Yahweh would write his instruction in the heart of each individual, so that all should know him from the least unto the greatest (Jer. 31:31-34). This doctrine was taken up by Ezekiel, and found magnificent expression in the words, "Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine" (Ezek. 18:4). The fall of Jerusalem and the breaking of the ancient national and tribal bonds through the Exile fostered this religious individualism, so that in post-exilic times it became a characteristic feature of Judaism that finds constant expression in the Psalter.

This new conception of the worth of the individual could not fail to suggest difficulties in the ancient theory of collective retribution. If, as the prophets were never weary of asserting, Yahweh was supremely righteous, why did he not punish the sinners themselves,

instead of visiting their penalty upon their children, their clan, or their nation? In the time of Jeremiah popular discontent with the old doctrine found expression in the proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are blunted" (Jer. 31:29), a saying which implies that the divine government is unjust, and that therefore moral effort is useless. Ezekiel found the same proverb current among the exiles in Babylonia (Ezek. 18:2), who claimed that, although they were innocent, they were suffering the penalty of the sins of their forefathers. The same difficulty is voiced in Job 21:19 ff.: "Ye say, God layeth up his penalty for his children. Let him recompense it unto himself, that he may know it. Let his own eyes see his destruction, and let him drink of the wrath of the Almighty. For what pleasure hath he in his house after him, when the number of his months is cut off in the midst?" The cardinal doctrine of prophetism, the righteousness of Yahweh, was thus at stake, and it became necessary for Hebrew thinkers to formulate a new theory of retribution.

2. *The theory of individual retribution in the present life.*—Ezekiel met the problem of his age by a bold repudiation of the ancient postulate of solidarity in guilt. Instead of the doctrine that the penalty of the fathers is visited upon the children, he taught, "The soul that sinneth it shall die" (Ezek. 18:4), and amplified this proposition at great length to show that each man received separately the reward of his own deeds (Ezek. 18:5-32; 9:3-6; 14:12-20). This recompense was, of course, in the present life, since Ezekiel, like the other prophets, held that there was no conscious existence in Sheol. This theory found great favor with Ezekiel's successors, and was defended by most of the Psalms, the Proverbs, and Ecclesiasticus (cf. Ps. 34:19 ff.; 37:25, 28; 145:20; Prov. 3:33; 11:31; Ecclus. 9:12; 12:2 f.). It was also the theory of the three friends who argued against Job (Job 4:8; 8:20; 11:20).

In spite of its popularity, however, this theory was open to formidable objections. In the first place, experience taught that there was truth in the old theory of collective guilt. The children of the drunken and the sensual bore the consequences of their fathers' excesses, while the children of the godly entered into an inheritance of health and prosperity. Ezekiel's message of individual responsi-

bility and individual retribution was only a half-truth; and, in the extreme form in which he stated it, could not be made to square with the facts of life. It is no wonder, therefore, that the old doctrine that the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children maintained itself in Jewish thought even down into New Testament times (Job 5:4; 17:5; 20:10; 27:14 f.; Ps. 109:9-15; Dan. 9:7-16; Tob. 3:3; Judith 7:28; Bar. 1:15-21; 2:26; 3:8; Matt. 23:35).

In the second place, it was contrary to experience that each man received in the present life the just recompense of his deeds. It was frequently observed that the sinners prospered, and the righteous suffered. Manasseh, the wickedest of all the kings of Judah, reigned in peace for fifty-five years; while Josiah, the reformer, was slain in the battle of Megiddo. Prophets like Jeremiah suffered everything at the hands of their contemporaries, and pious worshipers of Yahweh at the time of the captivity fared worse than apostate Israelites. Such facts as these cast doubts upon the doctrine of individual retribution: "Righteous art thou, O Yahweh, when I plead with thee; yet would I reason the cause with thee: Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they at ease that deal very treacherously? Thou hast planted them, yea, they have taken root; they grow, yea, they bring forth fruit" (Jer. 12:1 f.; cf. Job 21:7-34; Ps. 22:1-21; 44:9-26; 73:1-16; Hab. 1:2-4, 13-17).

Defenders of Ezekiel's theory tried to answer this objection by asserting that the happiness of the wicked and the misery of the righteous are only temporary. In order to test the fidelity of his servants God permits injustice to exist for a while, but before the death of every man he will apportion a just recompense (Job 5:3, 18-27; 20:4 f.; Ps. 37:1 f., 7 f.; 73:18). Encouraged by this thought, Job's friends, the Psalms and the Proverbs, urge men, in the face of all apparent contradictions, to hold fast to the faith that God will reward the righteous and punish the wicked in the present life.

An inevitable consequence of this theory was the assumption that happiness is the measure of goodness. If a man were a great sufferer, and no change came in his fortunes, it must be assumed that he was a great sinner. This was the logic of Job's friends. In view of his unparalleled calamities, they could only conclude that he was the chief of sinners. At first they only insinuated this, hoping to lead him

to confession (Job 4:7; 8:3 ff.); but gradually, emboldened by what they regarded as his obstinacy, they openly accused him of secret sin (11:3-6). Job was conscious of innocence and indignantly repudiated their charges; still the fact remained that God afflicted him and other upright men. In view of this, he was forced to abandon the theory of individual retribution in the present life: "The just, the perfect man is a laughing-stock. . . . The tents of robbers prosper and they that provoke God are secure" (Job 12:4-6); "It is all one therefore, I say, he destroyeth the perfect and the wicked. If the scourge slay suddenly, he will mock at the calamity of the innocent. The earth is given into the hand of the wicked" (Job 9:22-24; cf. 10:3; 16:11-17; 19:6-21; 21:7-34; 27:2).

The same conclusion was reached by the author of Ecclesiastes: "One event happeneth to them all. Then said I in my heart, As it happeneth to the fool so will it happen even unto me" (Eccles. 2:14 f.); "There is a righteous man that perisheth in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man that longeth his life in his evil-doing" (7:15); "I saw the wicked buried, and they came to the grave; and they that had done right went away from the holy place, and were forgotten in the city" (8:10); "All things come alike to all: there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, to the good and to the evil, to the clean and to the unclean, to him that sacrificeth and to him that sacrificeth not; as is the good, so is the sinner" (9:2).

3. *The theory of retribution through resurrection.*—While Job was struggling with the mystery of suffering, the question suddenly flashed into his mind, Was it not possible that a vindication of his innocence might come after death? That could not be in Sheol, since there conscious existence ceased, but might not God bring him back to life again, so that on earth and in the flesh he should receive the reward of virtue? The cut-down tree revives. May not man also awaken from the sleep of death?

There is hope for a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again,
And that the tender branch thereof will not cease.
Though the root thereof wax old in the earth,
And the stock thereof die in the ground;
Yet through the scent of water it will bud,
And put forth boughs like a plant (Job 14:7-9).

At first the poet rejects the thought of resurrection as inconceivable.

But a man dieth, and is prostrate,
And a mortal expireth, and where is he?
As the water vanisheth from the sea,
And as the river drieth up and is arid,
So man lieth down, and doth not arise:
Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake,
Nor be roused out of their sleep (14: 10-12).

But the new hope that has risen within him still asserts itself.

O that thou wouldest hide me in Sheol,
That thou wouldest conceal me until thy wrath should turn away,
That thou wouldest appoint me a set time and remember me.
If a man die, shall he live again?
All the days of my enlistment would I wait,
Till my discharge should come,
Till thou shouldest call, and I should answer thee,
Till thou shouldest long for the work of thy hands (14: 13-15).

The hope here expressed does not mount to the height of assertion, and the theme is not pursued farther at this point; but in 19:25-27 Job again returns to it, and this time states as a conviction what before had been only a vague longing.

But I know that my avenger liveth,
And one who shall survive after I am dust;
And that another shall arise as my witness,
And that he shall set up his mark.
From my flesh shall I see God,
Whom I shall see for myself,
And mine eyes shall behold, and no stranger.³

This cannot refer, as many commentators have supposed, to a vision of God in the other world, for Job has asserted too often his conviction that there is no knowledge in Sheol (Job 7:9; 14:21; 17:15 f.). It must be interpreted in the light of the hope that struggles to expression in 14:7-15, that there is such a thing as a return from Sheol to the life upon earth. "From my flesh," accordingly, cannot mean "disembodied," but must mean "re-embodied." The vindication of a disembodied spirit would be at variance with the whole development of Old Testament thought up to this point, while

³ Translated from the text as revised by Duhm on the basis of the Septuagint.

resurrection would not seem inconceivable to one who believed that Yahweh's power extended to Sheol (Job 11:8; 26:5 f.; 38:16 f.), and that at various times he had brought men back from the gates of death (I Kings 17:21 f.; II Kings 4:32 ff.; 13:21).

As we saw in a previous article,⁴ there is no evidence for the existence of a doctrine of resurrection among the Babylonians or among the pre-exilic Hebrews. The sudden emergence of this hope in the Book of Job may be due simply to the logical working of the author's mind upon the two tenets of prophetic theology, the righteousness of Yahweh and the lifelessness of Sheol; but it may also be due to direct or indirect influence of the Persian religion, in which the doctrine of resurrection was highly developed. By most recent critics the Book of Job is dated late in the Persian period, and it is certain that Persian ideas exerted an influence upon the eschatological conceptions of later Judaism.

The hope of an individual resurrection expressed by Job is extended to the righteous of Israel as a class by an apocalypse of the late Persian period in Isa., chaps. 24-27: "Thy dead shall arise; the inhabitants of the dust shall awake, and shout for joy; for a dew of lights is thy dew, and to life shall the earth bring the shades" (Isa. 26:19).⁵ This idea is based upon a literal interpretation of Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dead bones (Ezek., chap. 37). Here the raising of the dead army is only a symbol of the restoration of Judah, but in this apocalypse it is interpreted as a literal resurrection. According to this author, only the righteous rise, and it is not stated expressly that all of these are included. The wicked, who have oppressed Israel, are to remain in the dreamless sleep of Sheol: "They will be swept together as prisoners into a pit, and led down to be confined in a dungeon; thus after many days they will be punished" (24:22); "The dead will not live again, the shades will not rise; to that end thou didst punish them, thou didst destroy them, and cause all memory of them to perish" (26:14). Here Sheol appears, not as the common fate of all men, as in the pre-exilic period, but only as the punishment of the wicked, while the reward of the righteous is that they escape from Sheol, and participate in the messianic kingdom of

⁴ *Biblical World*, March, 1910, 169-71.

⁵ Emended text, according to Duhm and Cheyne.

the restored Israel. Through the rising of the righteous dead the numbers of the feeble Jewish community shall be increased, and it shall become a conquering power in the earth (26:15-18). Thus the eschatology of the individual is combined with the eschatology of the nation in a manner nowhere suggested in the Book of Job.

A further step in the doctrine of resurrection is taken in Daniel (165-164 B.C.): "And many that sleep in the land of dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And those that teach wisdom shall shine like the brightness of the firmament, and those that turn many to righteousness like the stars forever and ever" (Dan. 12:2 f.). Here not all the righteous are raised to everlasting life, but only "many," apparently the righteous priests and scribes who suffered martyrdom in the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes. Many of the wicked also are raised. The reason seems to be that the sleep of Sheol is not regarded as a sufficient penalty for them. Justice requires that they too shall come to life, in order that they may receive the "shame and everlasting contempt" that their sins deserve. The prophetic conception of death as existence without thought or feeling is still too strong to allow the author to think of either rewards or punishments in Sheol. Hence he must bring both the good and the bad back to earth, in order that they may receive the just recompense of their deeds.

The resurrection, which thus far has been asserted only for the conspicuously righteous, or the conspicuously wicked, is extended by later writings to all the dead. Thus in II Esd. 4:41 we read: "In the grave the chambers of souls are like the womb; for like as a woman that travaileth maketh haste to escape the anguish of the travail, even so do these places haste to deliver those things that are committed unto them from the beginning"; 7:32: "The earth shall restore those that are asleep in her, and so shall the dust those that dwell therein in silence, and the chambers shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them"; Enoch 51:1: "In those days shall the earth give back those that are gathered in her, and Sheol shall restore those it has received, and Abaddon shall render up what has been intrusted to it"; Apoc. Bar. 21:23: "May Sheol be sealed up henceforth, that it receive no more dead; and may the chambers of souls restore those that are shut up in them." This

general resurrection of all men, to receive the judgment of the last day, became the orthodox doctrine of the Pharisees and of the Talmud (Acts 23:6 ff.).

Through a return to life on earth, in which the righteous were rewarded and the wicked were punished, the problem of individual retribution received a fairly complete solution; nevertheless, some difficulties still remained. It did not seem entirely just that the righteous should suffer the temporary extinction of Sheol along with the wicked, even though they were raised again at the last day. Pious souls, who had known communion with God in this life, could not believe that he would leave them to the oblivion of Sheol for centuries before he would renew his fellowship with them. Moreover, those who were living when the last day came, or those who had died recently, enjoyed a great advantage over the ancient saints who were compelled to wait for ages before their release came. These considerations led in the Graeco-Roman period to the assertion of a larger vitality of disembodied spirits and to belief in a judgment that took place at death.

4. *The theory of retribution before resurrection.*—This doctrine first appears in the oldest portion of the Book of Enoch, chaps. 1-36,⁶ which some critics date as early as 170 B.C., but which others assign to the reign of John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.). In chap. 22 Sheol is described as containing four divisions, two for the wicked and two for the righteous. One contains the souls of the wicked who have received their punishment in this life. They shall remain there forever, and not be raised at the last day. The second contains the wicked who have not been punished in this life. "Here their spirits are placed apart in this great pain, till the day of judgment, and punishment, and torment of the accursed forever." The third contains the souls of the moderately righteous, who are free from pain, but who do not receive their reward until the resurrection. The fourth contains the great saints. These dwell already in Paradise, and drink of the water of life, while they await their resurrection.

In the Parables of Enoch (chaps. 37-71), which probably date from a time shortly before the beginning of the Christian era, the righteous pass at once after death into blessedness in the presence of

⁶ See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*; Kautzsch, *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen*.

God, and are guarded by the pre-existent "Son of Man" (Enoch 38:1; 40:5; 43:4; 49:3; 60:6; 61:12; 70:4). At the time of the coming of the "Son of Man" they are to be raised to life, in order that they may share in the blessedness of the messianic kingdom (51:1).

A similar conception appears in another independent section of the Book of Enoch (chaps. 102-4): "I swear to you now, ye righteous . . . that good of every sort, joy and honor, are prepared and recorded for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness. . . . Woe to you sinners, when ye die in your sins, and your comrades say of you, Blessed are the sinners. . . . Know ye not that their souls are brought down to Sheol, that they fare ill, and that their affliction will be great?" (Enoch 103:1 f.; compare also Apoc. Bar., chap. 30; II Esd., chap. 7).

In this development of the doctrine of retribution it is impossible not to recognize Greek influence. The theology of the Prophets and of the Law culminated in a denial of conscious existence in Sheol. Consequently, a belief in rewards or punishments in the other world was impossible on a purely Hebrew basis. Resurrection, with the final attendant judgment, was the only conception that was natural for a Jewish mind trained in the eschatology of the canonical Scriptures. On the other hand, the Greek philosophers had long since elaborated a theory of the immortality of the soul. Beginning with the Dionysiac cult in Thrace and the Orphic mysteries, and advancing through Pythagoras, the doctrine of divine kinship and inherent immortality of the human soul reached a high development. The movement culminated in Plato, who taught that the soul is an eternal, uncreated substance. In consequence of a fall from the life of pure reason in an earlier state of existence, it has been confined in the body as a prison, where it is subjected to the temptations of the flesh. If it resists these, it passes at death to the fellowship of the gods. If it succumbs, it is born again upon earth. If after repeated rebirths it does not reform, it is cast into Tartarus. This doctrine was well known to the Jews in Alexandria, and must have been accepted more or less extensively in Palestine. Wherever it was received men could believe that retribution occurred at death, and could try in one way or another to combine the Greek conception with the purely Jewish doctrine of resurrection.

The difficulty of all such combinations was that a judgment at death made a last judgment unnecessary; consequently there was no longer need for the dead to rise in order that they might receive the rewards of their deeds, and the tendency was strong to abandon the Jewish doctrine of resurrection in favor of the Greek doctrine of inherent immortality. This step was taken by the Jewish thinkers in Alexandria and by certain schools of thought in Palestine.

5. *The theory of retribution without resurrection.*—The Book of Wisdom never mentions a resurrection, but teaches exclusively the Platonic doctrine of immortality. "God created man for incorruption, and made him an image of his own being" (2:23). Birth is a fall from a higher existence (7:3), in which the soul receives a body in accordance with its deserts in a previous life (8:20). The body is a clog upon the immortal spirit (9:15), and death is a blessed release from imprisonment (4:7-15). The righteous pass at death to an immediate reward (1:15; 3:2 f.; 4:7, 10, 13), but the wicked are punished with eternal torments (2:24; 3:18; 4:18 f.). The same view meets us in IV Macc. 5:37; 7:3, 19; 9:8; 13:17; 14:5 f.; 15:3; 16:13; 17:5, 12; 18:16, 23. The patriarchs and other saints dwell with God, and are joined at death by the righteous, particularly by martyrs for the faith. A similiar belief was held by Philo, and by the Essenes, if we may trust the testimony of Josephus (*Ant.*, xviii, 1:5; *War*, ii, 8:11).

It is possible that the doctrine of immortality without resurrection is taught in a few psalms of the late Greek period. Thus in Ps. 16:9-11 we read: "Thou dost not commit me to Sheol, nor sufferest thy faithful ones to see the pit. Thou teachest me the pathway of life; in thy presence is fulness of joys, fair gifts are in thy right hand forever"; Ps. 17:15: "I, who am righteous, shall look on thy face, and shall be refreshed at (thine?) awakening, with a vision of thee"; Ps. 49:13-15: "This is their fate, who are full of self-confidence, and the end of those in whose speech men take pleasure. Like sheep unresisting they are cast down to Sheol, death is their herdsman, their form soon falls to decay, Sheol is become their dwelling. God alone can redeem my life from the hand of Sheol when it seizes me"; Ps. 73:23-26: "Yet do I stay by thee ever, thou holdest my right hand fast, thou ledest me according to thy counsel, and takest me

by the hand after thee. Whom have I in heaven? Whom beside thee do I care for on earth? My body and my heart pass away, but the rock of my heart and my portion is God evermore.”⁷ In these passages it is doubtful whether an individual speaks, or the nation; and, if it be an individual, whether the redemption from Sheol means more than that one is kept from death.⁸ The probability is that none of these utterances refer to a survival of the individual after death. In that case the Greek doctrine of immortality is not found in any of the writings that have been admitted to the Old Testament canon. The Hebrew doctrine of resurrection and the Greek doctrine of immortality existed side by side in Jewish thought at the beginning of the Christian era, and no satisfactory method of harmonizing them was devised.

6. *The theory of the Sadducees.*—The various attempts to solve the problem of retribution by projecting rewards and punishments into the other life found only a partial acceptance among the Jews during the centuries preceding the Christian era. A large party remained satisfied with the negative teaching of the Prophets and the Law, and with Ezekiel’s doctrine of individual retribution in the present life. This position is represented in the Old Testament by Ecclesiastes (about 200 B.C.). Its author knows that theories of immortality are current, but he rejects them as unproved: “Who knows the spirit of the sons of men, whether it ascends upward, and the spirit of beasts, whether it descends downward to the earth?” (Eccles. 3:21); “The dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward. . . . There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in Sheol whither thou goest” (9:5 f., 10). Sheol is the “eternal house” (12:5). A similar skepticism appears in Ps. 88:10: “Wilt thou for the dead work a wonder? Will shades arise to render thee thanks? Do they tell in the grave of thy goodness? Of thy faithfulness in the world down below? Can thy wonders be made known in the darkness? and thy righteousness in the land of oblivion?”

Ecclesiasticus also believes neither in resurrection nor in immortality. Rewards and punishments are distributed in the present life

⁷ These passages are all quoted from the revised text and version of Wellhausen.

⁸ See *Biblical World*, March, 1910, 170 f.

(11:26 f.). Activity ceases in Sheol (17:27). It is eternal rest (30:17). Tobit and I Maccabees occupy the same position. Enoch (103:5 f.) denounces those who say: "Blessed are the sinners, they have seen good all their life long. Now they have died in prosperity and riches; they have seen no trouble and no shedding of blood in their life. They have died in glory, and judgment was not executed upon them in their lifetime." This was the doctrine of the priestly party of the Sadducees over against the Pharisees (Mark 12:18-27; Acts 23:8). They were right in claiming that resurrection was not found in the Law or the Prophets, but they were wrong in rejecting it for that reason. They were an instance of arrested religious development. The pre-exilic doctrine of Sheol they preserved in a petrified form, regardless of the fact that great movements of thought had occurred that rendered that doctrine no longer tenable.

From this survey it appears that in the time of Christ some of the Jews had outgrown the eschatology of the Prophets and the Law and believed in a life after death, either through resurrection, or through a continuation of the soul's powers in the other world. No clear conceptions had, however, been attained, and many remained skeptical on the whole subject. A new revelation was needed to clarify thought. Fresh light must be thrown upon the nature of God, the nature of man, and their relation to one another before the problem of immortality could be solved. That light came in Him, through whose life, and teaching, and rising again from the dead, life and immortality have been brought to light.

Work and Workers

THE fifth Oriental Study Class of the University of Chicago, which will sail at the end of January, 1911, will be under the direction of Professor Theodore G. Soares. The class will spend about five weeks in Egypt, about five weeks in Palestine and Syria, and a short time in Asia Minor, Constantinople, and Greece. The class is now being formed for correspondence study in the archaeology, geography, and history of those lands. Some special attention will be given, particularly in the lectures during the trip, to the employment of the material studied in preaching and teaching. Persons interested in the class may address Professor Soares at the University. The business management has been placed in the hands of H. W. Dunning & Co., of Boston.

THREE Summer Conferences of Missionaries in China through their committees, representing the various leading denominations of America, Great Britain, Canada, and Germany, have invited Dr. Wilbert W. White and three others of the Bible Teachers' Training School, of New York, to go to China next summer, and the invitation has been accepted. To accompany Dr. White are Dr. Robert W. Rogers, Dr. Louis M. Sweet, and Miss Caroline L. Palmer. The party will sail on June 7, and will reach China by way of the Siberian railway. The conferences will be held at Peitaho, near Pekin; at Kuling, up the Yang-Tze, where the missionary community in the summer season numbers about one thousand, and at Mokanshon, near Shanghai. The work in China will end about September 1, when the party will go to Japan for a short conference at Karuizawa, and thence home by the Pacific.

THE officers of the Child Conference for Research and Welfare are seeking to secure \$4,000 for the expenses of the next meeting of the conference, and the organization of its work throughout the country. The conference proposes careful investigation of child problems and co-ordination of the various agencies for child welfare, with a view to the improvement of all conditions influencing child development.

Book Reviews

Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites. By A. T. CLAY. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1909. Pp. 217. \$1.25.

Dr. Clay is to be commended for calling our attention to a theme of such interest and importance. We are indebted to him for a contribution which promises new significance to the internal relations of the Semitic world. The volume abounds in suggestions that must necessarily point the way to considerable discussion, for unanimity of opinion can hardly be expected, and many will probably differ widely from the author's conclusions.

The motive of the presentation is a reply to the pan-Babylonian school. This is the name given to a small number of Semitic scholars who maintain that the Babylonian astral myths explain everything that is to be found in the movements of thought and religion in Israel. The author endeavors to show that the reverse was the true situation and that the Babylonians emigrated from Palestine and Syria, which he thinks was Amurru, taking with them the learning and traditions of the West and "that their culture was an amalgamation of what was once Amorite, or west Semitic, and the Sumerian which they found in the Euphrates Valley." In maintaining this thesis the author does not consider the possibility of a medial position, viz., that while the Babylonian culture was Amorite in origin, as he holds, yet that that civilization when it became mighty and gathered up in itself the arts, literature, and science of the ancient world, could have had an influence on the West whence it originated. The problem as to how Israel attained her culture is deficient in this respect, seeing that so many Semitic scholars maintain that Israel felt the forces which played upon the Semitic realm and that Babylonia was one source whence these sprang. Regardless of where the Babylonian culture originated they insist that in such an active operation of forces, Assyrian suzerainty compelled the introduction of certain cults into the religion of Israel. Even the size of that kingdom probably helped Israel to the idea of one supreme God. In a similar way many of her conceptions were probably modified by the East.

The current theory of Semitic scholars concerning the origin of the Semitic Babylonians is that they came from Arabia, and that after their culture had developed in Babylonia it was carried westward into Amurru (i.e., Palestine and

Syria) generally known as the land of the Amorites. Without attempting to determine the ultimate origin of the Semites, the writer holds that every indication, resulting from his investigations, proves that the movement of the Semites was eastward from Amurru and Aram (i.e., from the lands of the West) into Babylonia. In other words, the culture of the Semitic Babylonian points, if not to its origin, at least to a long development in Amurru before it was carried into Babylonia.

These are the opening words of the book. The course of Babylonian origin and movement here described as *the* current theory is rather *a* current theory. Some hold that the Arabs first pushed into Mesopotamia, or Aram, whence they migrated eastward into Babylonia and westward into Canaan. This would meet the author's position as to the movement of the Semites being eastward from Aram, and would possibly demand a considerable residence there. The conclusions reached in the book are the outcome of three considerations, the first of which has just been stated except that the writer couples Amurru with Aram. The second is that an early Babylonian dynasty—some two centuries before Hammurabi—came from the West. The third is that Amurru is Syria and Palestine. On the location and culture of Amurru must ultimately depend the success of the argument.

The location of Amurru centuries before Abraham is a problem of no few difficulties. Its region may have changed as it did with others. Aram moved from east of the Euphrates until its capital became Damascus. There may have been more than one Amurru, as some maintain. The term *West* in the inscriptions may not always denote the same territory. Thus when Sargon says that he conquered the west land our author takes this as reaching right through to the Mediterranean. Yet in the quotation cited, Dr. Clay is on record as putting Aram in the West at the earliest period. It is therefore not necessary to take Sargon's statement as implying more than a conquest of Mesopotamia. Sargon calls himself "king of Ûri," or Amurru as Dr. Clay thinks. Later we find him conquering Subartu and Elam; and at the end of his history in the books of the Chronicles of the early kings, as though it were his last achievement, it is recorded that "Sargon, who marched against the country of the West, his hand subdued the four quarters." This sentence seems to contradict the argument of the writer. Already called "king of *Amurru*," he conquers the West, and if the West is Amurru why does he not use the term for the West in speaking of it? So Hammurabi calls himself "king of Ûri" on his stele at Diarbekr, which was therefore in all probability the limit of his kingdom. The author's main argument is given by the following quotation:

Of special interest and importance is the fact that a single ideogram has the values Akkadû, Amurrû, and Urû:

<i>Uri</i>	BUR-BUR	Akkadû
<i>Tidnu</i>	BUR-BUR	Amurrû
<i>Tilla</i>	BUR-BUR	Urû

In another text instead of *Tidnu*=Amurru is found *Âri*=Amurru. In other words the usual ideogram for the country *Ûri* or Akkad (i.e., Babylonia) stood also for the countries *Âri* or Amurru and *Urû* or Armenia.

The writer goes right on to speak of Hammurabi's title as "king of *Ûri*" (Amurru)" and elsewhere uses *Ûri* and *Âri* as identical and=Amurru. Is this legitimate? Do not different names for the same ideogram separate their usage? The same ideogram is used both for "foot" and "to go," "to journey." These are not therefore identical and interchangeable. The author's system would make Akkad, Amurru, and Armenia all identical and locate Amurru in the North and not in the West.

When we have located Amurru as Palestine and Syria we meet a more formidable problem in estimating its culture. Dr. Clay says "beyond such influences as are due to commercial relations and perhaps the script, it does not appear that the culture of Amurru . . . was modified by Babylonian forces." What was the standard of this culture? Did it have any? "The culture of the Semitic Babylonians was largely transported from the West. The Amorites in moving eastward into Babylonia carried with them not only their religion, but their traditions such as their creation story, antediluvian patriarchs, deluge legend, etc." Where are the first Babylonians called Amorites? Where also is this culture assigned to them as Amorites? Why could not the Babylonians of Sargon's day have possessed it and the West Dynasty have found it in Babylonia on reaching there? The author's reply would be that "on the basis of the Palestinian excavations and their researches an ancient Semitic people with a not inconsiderable civilization lived in Amurru prior to the time of Abraham." This may be a crucial statement and it should have definite data. What do *Palestinian* excavations tell us of the conditions *prior* to Abraham? Nothing of which we are aware. Again, the inferences from scattered references to Amorites of the later period will not be conclusive for a kingdom of Amurru of far remoter date. Are these Amorites of the Amurru we are considering? Moreover, did Israel inherit any of this culture, and how was it preserved unto her day? The writer's statement regarding the Creation story, Deluge, etc., would seem to imply that she assimilated the Amurrean culture. The primitive life and religious practices of the days of the Judges would not be very flattering to any cul-

ture and will demand the assumption either that the Amurrian culture was insignificant, or that its forces were spent before the days of the Exodus. If the Amurrian civilization was of a high order, and soon reached the Hammurabi class in the East, and Israel became heir to a similar heritage in the West, then Israelitish thought and religion saw no development of any magnitude, and her history is written in decline and not progress.

The writer is silent on several important matters. How did this culture originate in Amurru? What was there to explain it? We watch the Israelitish and Babylonian civilizations developing from age to age. We observe the forces which fashion them. What then are the powers responsive to which Amurru becomes the seat of development? The author speaks of the Sumerian element in the Babylonian civilization. He does not specify the Sumerian contribution. On what grounds can we make the Creation story or the Deluge story Amurrian and not Sumerian? We feel that there is too much that is still uncertain about the early movements and predominating influences of these peoples to reach any basis of classification. We are not adverse to a position that the West may have made a contribution to the East, but that it was exclusive and the source of Semitic culture may still be an open question.

R. H. MODE

BRANDON, MANITOBA

Aegypten zur Zeit der Pyramidenerbauer. Von EDUARD MEYER.
Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908.

Throughout the United States, from the Mississippi eastward, great interest has been aroused by Professor Eduard Meyer's illuminating lecture on the "Egyptians of the Pyramid Age." It is well therefore to call attention to the fact that this lecture was first delivered before the German Orient-Gesellschaft, in the presence of the emperor in 1908, and that it was thereupon published with a large number of the interesting illustrations by which it was accompanied on its first delivery. Besides sixteen cuts in the text, the brochure is accompanied by seventeen plates. One of them, in beautiful colors, depicts the marvelous vase of blue glaze and gold recently found by Borchardt at Abusir, and belonging to the twenty-seventh century before Christ. Altogether the little brochure offers a symmetrical and carefully elaborated picture of one of the most important and interesting periods of the early world in the light of recent discovery.

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New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

ALFORD, B. H. *Old Testament History and Literature*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910. Pp. xix+318. \$1.25.

A very good book to put into the hands of the adult of average intelligence who seeks to obtain some true idea of the rise of the Old Testament literature and the history of the Hebrew people. The author's position is that of a conservative follower of the historical method and his book will serve as a good guide to beginners in the study of the Old Testament.

PECKHAM, GEO. A. *An Introduction to the Study of Obadiah*. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1910. Pp. 29. 25 cents.

A dissertation for the Doctor's degree from the University of Chicago. It comprises a strophical arrangement of the Hebrew text, a translation thereof, critical notes on the text and its meaning, together with a résumé of the most recent contributions to the interpretation of Obadiah.

GINSBURG, C. D. *Isaias diligenter revisus juxta Massorah atque editiones principes cum variis lectionibus e MSS. atque antiquis versionibus collectis*. London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1909. Pp. 93.

One of the methods of celebrating the centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society is the publication of a new edition of the Hebrew Bible. The task has been intrusted to Dr. C. D. Ginsburg, than whom no more competent authority could have been selected. One portion of the result is here presented. The size of the page and clearness of the type are all that could be desired; no better piece of Hebrew printing is known to us. The text is provided with a full critical apparatus, especial attention being bestowed upon the matter of the accents. The text of Jacob ben Chayim's first edition constitutes the basis of the work, the necessary corrections therein having been made. The result which is now well in sight will doubtless be the standard Hebrew Bible for years to come. It will be indispensable to the equipment of every professor of Hebrew.

ADAMS, JOHN. *Israel's Ideal, or Studies in Old Testament Theology*. New York: Scribner, 1909. Pp. vii+232. \$1.25.

This somewhat discursive book is written by one who strives to conserve the chief principles of both traditionalism and criticism. The attempt could hardly hope to be successful. The book is illuminated by occasional flashes of insight but is on the whole disappointing.

BERRY, G. R. *The Old Testament among the Semitic Religions*. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1910. Pp. 215. \$1.

The author institutes a comparison between the religion of the Hebrews and that of the Semitic family out of which they came. Admitting that they have much in common, he points out the distinctive ideas and practices of Israel and emphasizes her immeasurable superiority. The task is too great a one for adequate treatment in so small a compass, but it may meet the needs of some who have been disturbed by the statements that Israel owed everything she had to Babylonia. If it will lead more to devote themselves to serious work upon this great problem it will not have been written in vain.

- MAIN, A. E. Bible Studies on the Sabbath Question. Plainfield, N. J.: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1909. Pp. 80. 25 cents.
A textbook for the Sabbath schools of the Seventh-Day Baptist churches.

ARTICLES

- ORBINK, H. TH. "Het Exodus-Vraagstuk," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, March, 1910, pp. 127-61.

The conclusions reached here are (1) Merneptah was not the Pharaoh of the Exodus; (2) the Exodus may not be placed after Merneptah; (3) Israel's oppression in Egypt is to be placed in the period from Thothmes III to Amenhotep IV (1500-1400 B.C.); (4) the Exodus occurred at the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.; (5) the entry into Canaan took place in the Amarna period, i.e., the first half of the fourteenth century B.C.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

- MANGENOT, E. La résurrection de Jésus: Suivie de deux appendices sur la crucifixion et l'ascension. (Bibliothèque apologetique, 9.) Paris: Beauchesne, 1910. Pp. 404. Fr. 3.50.

Abbé Mangenot, of the Catholic Institute of Paris, displays a wide acquaintance with recent literature on the subject of the resurrection, but is unmoved by the arguments of criticism from what is substantially the traditional position.

- GREGORY, CASPOR RENÉ. Wellhausen und Johannes. (Versuche und Entwürfe, 3.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 68.

Wellhausen's recent discussions of the Fourth Gospel, (*Erweiterungen und Änderungen im vierten Evangelium*, 1907; *Das Evangelium Johannis*, 1908) are subjected to a vigorous and detailed criticism from a rather conservative standpoint by Professor Gregory.

ARTICLES

- EMMET, CYRIL W. Galatians the Earliest of the Pauline Epistles. *Expositor*, March, 1910, pp. 242-54.

Identifying the Jerusalem visit of Gal., chap. 2, with that of Acts, chap. 11, the writer explains the silence of Galatians as to the council visit, by making the epistle precede the council. The obvious difficulties with this view are briefly but cleverly met.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

- LELONG, AUGUSTE. Les pères apostoliques. III, Ignace d'Antioche et Polycarpe de Smyrne, Épîtres; Martyre de Polycarpe. Text grec, traduction française, introduction et index. (Textes et documents.) Paris: Picard, 1910. Pp. lxxx + 187. Fr. 3.

This is a convenient and intelligent edition of Ignatius and Polycarp, although the introduction is slightly more doctrinal in make-up than is usual in this excellent series.

- MILLIGAN, GEORGE. Selections from the Greek Papyri. Edited with translations and notes. Cambridge: University Press, 1910. Pp. xxxii + 152. 5s. net.

These papyri have been selected for their interest to students of the New Testament, and Dr. Milligan's texts and notes will be found a mine of illustration of New Testament life and language. The introductions and comments are often very illuminating, and the book is conveniently and attractively made up.

SMYTH, NEWMAN. *Modern Belief in Immortality*. New York: Scribner, 1910.

Pp. 95. 75 cents.

"The thought of our age has thrown a shadow of unreality over the belief in personal immortality. There are many who ask how this faith may be intelligently held in the midst of modern knowledge. To all such readers, who would have a reasonable hope in the life everlasting, these pages are now offered." Dr. Smyth has presented the grounds of his hope in attractive and beautiful form and places the emphasis of his argument upon the right thing, viz., the worthfulness of human personality.

JACKSON, S. M. *The Source of "Jerusalem the Golden"; Together with Other Pieces Attributed to Bernard of Cluny*. In English Translation by Henry Preble, with Introduction, Notes, and Annotated Bibliography. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910. Pp. vii+207. \$1.38.

An exhaustive piece of work upon the sources of one of the great hymns of the church, viz., Bernard of Cluny's long poem, "On Scorn of the World."

The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Edited by Samuel Macaulay Jackson with the assistance of Charles Colebrook Sherman, George William Gilmore, and others. Vol. IV, Draeseke-Goa. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1909. Pp. xvi+500. \$5.00.

The chief biblical articles in this volume are "Ecclesiastes," "Egypt," "Eschatology," "Exegesis," "Ezra and Nehemiah," and "Galilee." These subjects are done chiefly by Orelli, Paul Kleinert, Klostermann, and Guthe, representatives of the more conservative type of German theologians. The remaining eight volumes are to appear at intervals of three months. This dictionary, presenting as it does *multum in parvo*, will add much to the library of the ordinary minister.

PALMER, W. S. *Studies in the Teaching of Religion*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909. Pp. 94. \$0.25.

A simple and helpful presentation of such great subjects as Human Freedom, Sin, Prayer, Christ, and God.

The Christian Ministry and the Social Order. Lectures delivered in the Course in Pastoral Functions at Yale Divinity School, 1908-9. Edited by C. S. MacFarland. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1909. Pp. vii+303.

These lectures formed part of a course given by pastors, business men, labor-leaders, and the like for the purpose of bringing the students into vital touch with the great throbbing world. They are well worth reading by the minister already in charge of a church.



J. Kirchbach

JESUS, THE FRIEND OF CHILDREN

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXV

JUNE, 1910

NUMBER 6

Editorial

THE INDUCTIVE METHOD IN RELIGION

WHAT IS THE INDUCTIVE METHOD?

The inductive method seeks to arrive at general conclusions through the consideration of the specific facts. The success of the method in any given case is determined by the degree to which its use has accorded with certain requirements, viz., comprehensiveness and accuracy in observation, correct interpretation, rational explanation, and scientific construction. Has the investigator considered and accounted for all the facts? Has he seen his facts clearly and recorded their characteristics fully and accurately? Has he understood them aright in their relations one to another and to the underlying causes to which they are due? Finally, has he so co-ordinated his facts and related them to their causes that his final constructive statement corresponds to the actual reality? This, roughly speaking, is the inductive method. It finds no place for prejudice or presupposition. It allows no extraneous tradition or authority to take the place of the facts themselves. They furnish the first and the last word; they are the only fixed thing in the process; they constitute the only authority.

ITS WIDE ACCEPTANCE

The method has found practically general acceptance at the present time. Induction is the method, *par excellence*, of science. The laboratory, the experiment station, the museum, the clinic, the astronomical observatory, the scientific expedition, and other such means of discovering truth are all of them instruments of the inductive method. The wonderful progress of scientific achievement in modern times is unanimously acknowledged to be synchronous with and due to the faithful and rigid use of this method. Since its adoption by scholars in this field, science has gone forward by leaps and bounds.

The so-called "exact sciences" furnish us the best examples of the successful employment of the inductive method. But it has not stopped with these; it has forced its way into more elusive and intangible subjects. Sociology, for example, is pre-eminently an inductive study. Dealing with a relatively new science, the student of human society has practically no inheritance from the past dictating either method or conclusion. He is compelled to face the facts of life and listen for the message they have to bring. In literature and art, the realist has come to be an acknowledged force, and realism is a type of induction. Even philosophy, that most theoretical and traditional of subjects, has been compelled to acknowledge the legitimacy of the inductive method. Pragmatism is in the forefront of philosophical interest today; and pragmatism boasts of its adherence to a strictly inductive method.

THE INDUCTIVE STUDY OF THE BIBLE

In the realm of Bible-study the inductive method has come to be accepted as the true one by the large majority of present-day scholars. Even those who oppose the findings of modern historical criticism admit the legitimacy of the method by which the results have been attained. The ground of disagreement is found not in the inductive principle itself, but in the ways in which the principle is applied. Intelligent opponents of historical criticism would resent the charge that their own point of view and method were not fully as inductive as that of the most pronounced critic, which fact, incidentally, indicates that a good method wrongly applied may be productive of just as unfortunate results as a bad method. The inductive method in the hands of students well trained in historical and literary criticism has brought biblical study into a prominence it perhaps never before enjoyed. The Bible has become a new book for large numbers of people. Many for whom the reading of it had become a mechanical or ritualistic exercise attended by no real quickening of spiritual power, when made acquainted with the real men and women who live and move in the pages of the Old and New Testaments and enabled to appreciate fully and sympathetically the burdens they bore and the problems they faced, have received a new increment of zeal for the study of the Bible, and have come to look upon it as indeed

the Book of Books. Students can never again look upon the Bible as an uninteresting book after they have come to know Hosea, the broken-hearted, as he brings forth from his bitter experience words of warning and reproof for his beloved nation; Ezekiel, standing upon the ruins of Israel's national hopes and striving to lay the foundations for a new theocracy; the Maccabean brothers, opposing a firm front to the assaults of heathendom that threatened to sweep away the religion of Jehovah; or Paul, the missionary of the cross, laboring with unremittent zeal for the furtherance of the gospel, and pausing now and again to send back by letter to the churches he himself had founded, words of guidance and cheer. Its men and women become real personalities struggling toward a fuller life and seeking a better knowledge of God just as do godly men and women of every age. The task of their day is seen to be the same in kind as the task of this age; the struggle that absorbed their enthusiasm and energy is still with us; and the achievements they made it is ours to possess, only that we too may achieve and hand down to posterity. This new appreciation of the Bible is bound to win more and more enthusiastic followers; and it is safe to say even now, that the Bible was never so well understood as it is today. For this, the inductive method is chiefly responsible.

THE INDUCTIVE METHOD IN THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

Having admitted the inductive principle into so many departments of thought and life, can we draw a line before that of theology and religion and say to the oncoming invader, "Thus far shalt thou come and no farther"? Is there any ground upon which the advocates of such a policy can stand? Must not religion and theology submit themselves freely and fully to as thorough tests as are applied in any other sphere? Is there any plea of privilege that can be accepted as exempting this domain from the most searching investigation? Is there any danger that that which is really religious will fail to stand any and all tests? Is it probable that a method which has wrought so effectively in other closely related fields of human interest will break down or work disaster when put in operation here?

What does it mean to admit the inductive principle into the realm of theology and religion? Does it involve throwing overboard every-

thing we have received from the past and starting out afresh in search of a new cargo? Must each one investigate for himself the fundamental and primary grounds upon which his religious experience and theological formulas are based? Is nothing to be taken for granted?

It is certainly incumbent upon every man to be able to give a reason for the faith that is in him. Moreover, certain essential facts of religious experience must be vitally known by each man for himself; no other's knowledge or experience can do service for him. But, on the other hand, no man or group of men can afford to be wholly dissociated from the past experience of the race. It is our privilege to start, if we will, a little farther along than our fathers did in the search for truth and life. We need not travel over again the whole rough road along which previous generations have come. The errors and successes of the past are before us as an open book. It is ours to profit by this record of experience. To this end, we must read it intelligently, taking careful account of all that went into the making of the record and yielding assent to its conclusions only in so far as the experiments upon which they were based seem to have been carried on under right conditions, and to have been rightly interpreted. Thus used with discriminating intelligence, the body of religious and theological tradition comes to us not as a burden retarding our progress, but as a bright light illuminating our way.

Not only so, but from the inductive point of view the record of past experience is invaluable. It furnishes the student a far broader basis of induction and thus renders him less liable to err. The life of one generation is all too short and the conditions under which it is lived too much alike the world over to furnish sufficient material for the study of religious experience. The history of religious thought makes good this defect.

The adoption of the inductive method in religion will mean open-mindedness on the part of the religious man. He will hold himself in readiness to readjust his religious opinions whenever increase of knowledge and deepening of experience shall make such change imperative. He will not regard himself as having already attained, but will be looking for new light to break forth from God's word and God's world. He will face the facts of life without fear or prejudice

and let them make their own impression upon his soul. Dogmatism and uncharitable judgment of divergent opinions will give place to an earnest desire to co-operate heartily with every sincere seeker after truth and righteousness.

The religion developed under these conditions will not be so much a hard-and-fast theological system as a life. Like every vital thing, it will adjust itself to and conquer its environment. It will be the expression of an ever-growing experience and will change from glory to glory. It will rejoice in a faith that knows wherein it has believed, and will have no cause for shame before any court. Based directly upon reality, as discovered in the facts of history and experience, such a religion will abhor cant. Sincerity will be of its very essence. Emphasis upon subscription to creeds and conformity to dogma will give place to enthusiasm for righteousness and love for truth. No man will feel any necessity to cultivate ecclesiastical appearances at the expense of religious integrity. He will be far more concerned that he shall have actual knowledge of God through personal communion with him than that he shall be able to formulate theories about the nature or attributes of Deity. Directness and simplicity will take the place of complexity and ingenuity, and the gain will be much every way. Contact with reality will engender, in this case as always, a world-conquering enthusiasm.

THE EARLY RELIGION OF PALESTINE

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In a previous article¹ on this subject we saw that the worship of the earliest period consisted of the slaughtering of a sacrificial animal upon a rock-altar from which the blood of the victim ran down into a cave underneath, to be received by the deities, originally the dead, who dwelt therein. The principal feature of the service at the Canaanitish high-place was the sacrificial meal of which both deity and worshippers partook. We may be sure that the Israelites practiced different kinds of sacrifice before they entered Palestine, but we are equally certain that they soon took over the characteristically agricultural feasts and sacrifices connected with them, which they found in Canaan. We have no certain traces of worship by means of the burnt-offering among the Canaanites; on the other hand it is probable that the burnt-offering was always looked upon as the most fitting sacrifice to Yahweh.

The excavations in Palestine have revealed many traces of another kind of sacrifice common among primitive and fairly advanced peoples, namely, human sacrifice. We have already alluded to the traces of the sacrifice of the first-born at Gezer.² In II Kings 3:27 we read of the sacrifice of his first-born by Mesha, king of Moab, to Chemosh. Ahaz, Manasseh, and other kings of Judah were accused of the same practice. In a cistern at Gezer there was found, together with a number of skeletons, the upper half of the body of "a young girl who had evidently been sawn asunder. The skulls of two other girls, who had been decapitated, were found at the mouth of the same cistern."³ Other evidences of human sacrifice have been found. We naturally think of the offering of captives after a victory. S. A. Cook reminds us that "every war was a 'holy war.' The horrid rites in honor of the gods who fought for their followers are to be traced in Egypt, Assyria,

¹ *Biblical World*, May, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, 300 f.

³ Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights*, 75 f.

and the Old Testament, and even as late as 307 B.C. the Carthaginians after their defeat of Agathocles slew the choicest prisoners 'before the altar in front of the holy tent.'"⁴

Another form of human sacrifice was the foundation sacrifice. No doubt many of the so-called foundation sacrifices are to be explained as burials in or near houses for the purpose already mentioned.⁵ However, a large number of cases of real foundation sacrifice were found at Gezer, Megiddo, and elsewhere. At Gezer the skeleton of a woman of advanced years was found deposited under the corner of a house.⁶ At Taanach the skeleton of a child about ten years old was discovered at the foot of one of the towers⁷ and similarly at Megiddo the skeleton of a girl of about fifteen was found built into the base of a large tower.⁸ A large number of references to more modern instances of foundation sacrifice are found in Professor Driver's *Modern Research*, 71 f. Although foundation sacrifices continued down into the period of the Israelitish monarchy, it seems that deposits of lamps and bowls took their place in later times. Such deposits were found in City IV at Tell el-Hesi (Lachish), in the fifth and sixth strata at Gezer, and in the other mounds.⁹

Every student of religion recognizes the importance of the religion, or as we sometimes call it, the superstition of the common people. Our idea of the Babylonian religion would be extremely one-sided if we confined our attention to the hymns and prayers of the ritual of the great temples of Enlil, Marduk, and the other great gods, but neglected the semi-official priests, diviners, and witch-doctors. Beside the official religion and the semi-official cults, there must have existed in Babylonia and Assyria a huge mass of superstition most of the traces of which disappeared with the people who practiced it. The same may be said of the Egyptian religion. The worship of Amon, Re, and the other great gods of Egypt in the temples at Heliopolis, Thebes, and other centers, probably made little impression on the lives of the common people. These worshiped Osiris and Isis, Bes and a host of minor deities, many of whom were probably unknown outside their own particular village or district. So the

⁴ *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, 39.

⁵ *Biblical World*, May (1910), 301.

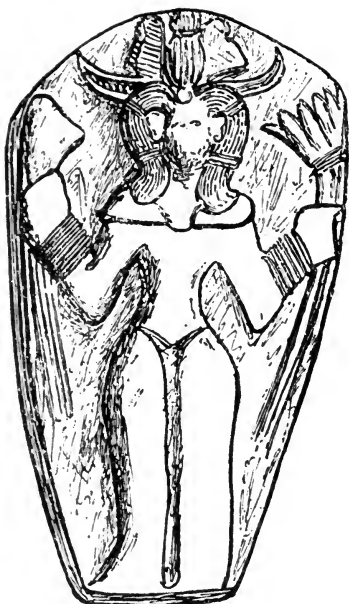
⁶ *Quarterly Statement* (1905), 198 f.

⁷ *Tell Ta'anneh*, 51.

⁸ *Tell el-Mutesellim*, 54.

⁹ Driver, *op. cit.*, 72 f.

worship at the high-places in Canaan was more or less official. It was in charge of a regular priesthood, and only on the feast days did the people assemble there to partake of the sacrificial meal. But the excavations have thrown light upon a far more interesting phase of the early religion of Palestine, namely, the unofficial, everyday religion of the common people. Next to the pottery, images,



From "Quarterly Statement" (1904), 15, Fig. 3



From Selin, "Tell Ta'anek," 45, Fig. 47

ASTARTE, EGYPTIAN AND TAANACH TYPES

statuettes, scarabs, and other amulets constitute the bulk of the finds of the excavations.

So far the excavations have revealed no definite trace of images of the baals; on the other hand, figures of Astarte¹⁰ have been found in large numbers. As we saw in a previous article,¹¹ the massebah or pillar was looked upon as the abode and symbol of the baals. That baal-images existed is probable. We call to mind the golden calves set up by Jeroboam at Bethel and Dan (I Kings 12:28 f.). Some bull-heads were found at Megiddo,¹² but it is doubtful whether

¹⁰ *Ashîrêth* in the Revised Version.

¹¹ *Biblical World* (1910), 306.

¹² *Mutesellim*, 101.

any of them represented a baal.¹³ The Astarte figures found in southern Palestine, at Lachish, Gezer, etc., are mostly in relief on plaques of terra-cotta. It is possible to recognize distinct types: the Phoenician by the prominent hips of the goddess, the Egyptian by the extended arms bearing lotus plants, and others. Sellin holds that each city had its own type of Astarte figure, and his excavations at Taanach bear out his hypothesis, for, of the figures of this goddess found there, nineteen were of one type as over against one which was perhaps Babylonian, one Egyptian, and one Cypriote type.¹⁴ It would be impossible in this article to discuss all the Astarte-types produced by the excavations. Suffice it to say that it is evident that this goddess was the most popular Canaanitish deity and that the Israelites took over her worship from their predecessors. This is evident from the Astarte figures found in the Israelitish strata at Lachish, Taanach, and elsewhere.

The goddess of fertility and reproduction, who was frequently also a warrior-goddess, was worshiped over the whole oriental world. In Babylonia she appeared as Bêlit, Nanâ, Inina, etc.; in Assyria as Ishtar of Nineveh, Arbela, Ashur, etc. She was also a Hittite and Syrian goddess. In Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine she was known as Astarte. She was known in Cyprus and Crete.¹⁵ In Greece she appeared as Aphrodite, Rhea, Artemis, and Athene.

Although there is little doubt that some examples of *teraphim* or household deities have been found, there is considerable difference of opinion among scholars as to which figures are to be put in this class. The possibilities are discussed by Vincent.¹⁶

Images of Bes are very common. This grotesque bow-legged satyr-like god of the common people of Egypt, who were fond of calling their children after him and his consort Toeris, and whose image they set up in their houses,¹⁷ was evidently very popular in Canaan. Figures of this god were found at Tell es-Safi, Zakariya, and the other south Palestinian mounds.¹⁸ At Taanach a Bes figure was

¹³ Cf. Vincent, *Canaan*, 169 f.; and *Tell Ta'anek*, 107.

¹⁴ *Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Ta'anek*, 32. For illustrations of the different types found see *Mutesellim*, 102 and Fig. 158 on 103; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations*, 135 f.; *Quarterly Statement* (1904) 15; Driver, *op. cit.*, 56 f.

¹⁵ Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 115, 134.

¹⁶ *Canaan*, 153 f.

¹⁷ Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, 77 f.

¹⁸ Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations*, 26 f.

found in the so-called Egyptian grave, and another in the stratum 2b, which shows that the god was still known in Taanach in Israelitish times.¹⁹ At Megiddo such a figure was found in the seventh stratum, which must be dated just B.C.²⁰

Other Egyptian deities represented by images or symbols are Anubis,²¹ Isis and Horus,²² Thoth,²³ Amon,²⁴ Sobek,²⁵ Sekhmet²⁶ and others. A large number of Horus-eyes were found in all of the mounds. A not uncommon amulet "represents a female figure, pregnant, with a high peaked cap and a girdle under her shoulders."²⁷



From Sellin, "Tell Ta^cannek," 88, Fig. 124

From Erman, "Ägyptische Religion," 78, Fig. 65

FIGURES OF BES

All of these figures were used as amulets. To this group of objects also belong the enormous number of glaze and coral beads, used no doubt then as they still are today in the Orient, to protect the wearer against the evil eye.²⁸ At Taanach a large number of sea-shells were found, some of which were probably used as amulets.²⁹

¹⁹ *Tell Ta^cannek*, 105.

²⁰ *Mutesellim*, 149.

²¹ *Mutesellim*, 84 and 90. Both from the fourth stratum, *ca.* 1400 B.C.

²² *Ibid.*, 40, 51.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Cf. *Ta^cannek*, 107.

²³ *Excavations*, 154.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.* Cf. the lion figures of *Mutesellim*, 84, 89; *ca.* 1400 B.C.

²⁷ *Excavations*, 153.

²⁸ At Tell es-Safi a number of red-coral pendants were found (*Excavations*, 154); in the Egyptian grave at Taanach six red beads were discovered; those found throughout the rest of the mound were white, or more commonly blue (*Ta^cannek*, 111 f.). Similar finds were made at Megiddo and elsewhere, and in all the strata.

²⁹ A large number of shells made into a necklace came to light at Megiddo. Such strings are still used on the necks of camels and are called *wada^c* (*Mutesellim*, 88) by the natives.

By far the largest group of amulets are the scarabs, found in all the mounds excavated and in all the strata, from the earliest to the latest. Almost every symbol known to the Egyptian religion is represented on these scarabs, and thus came into Canaan. Of course it is not to be supposed that the wearer of these Egyptian amulets always knew what the symbols on the scarabs meant, but he surely must have known of their connection with Egypt and the Egyptian gods.

Alongside of the thousands of statuettes, scarabs, and other amulets which are either Egyptian or made after Egyptian models, found in the mounds excavated, the objects showing Babylonian workmanship or influence are remarkably few in number—indeed they may be counted on the fingers of two hands.³⁰

The task still before us is to try to determine just what Babylonian and Egyptian influences entered into the early religion of Palestine. Beginning with the influence of Egypt: Are we to assume that the erection of Amon temples in Syria by one of the predecessors of Thutmose III³¹ or by Ramses III³² meant the establishment of Amon-worship in this region? In a sense, yes. The Egyptian governors as well as the native princes under them probably kept up the worship of Amon in Syrian capitals as long as Egypt ruled this country. But that it became the worship of the common people at any time is doubtful. The story of Wenamon³³ shows how little impression Amon-worship made upon this country. About fifty years after the death of Ramses III, Wenamon was sent to Byblos to procure cedars from the Lebanon for the sacred barge of Amon. After being robbed on the way, he finally reached Byblos and began negotiations for the desired timber. He did not fail to call attention to Amon's claim of dominion over the Lebanon, but the cedars were forthcoming only after his messenger had returned to Egypt and procured a few vessels of gold and silver and other objects to be given to the governor of Byblos in exchange. On the other hand the enor-

³⁰ The Babylonian objects from Tell es-Safi and the other mounds of southern Palestine are three cylinders and three seals (*Excavations*, 153). The cylinder found at Taanach, with the inscription "Atanach-ili, servant of Nergal," dating from the Amarna period, has received a disproportionate amount of attention.

³¹ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 457 f.

³² *Ibid.*, III, §§ 219 f.

³³ Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, 513 f.

mous number of Egyptian scarabs and other amulets makes it extremely probable that the religion of the common people of Palestine in the Canaanitish period, was in many respects the same as the religion of the common people of Egypt; that is, it consisted largely in the worship of local "saints," and the use of the proper charms and the wearing of proper amulets to ward off hostile powers.³⁴ The point to be emphasized is that these amulets show Egyptian, not Babylonian influence. When they did take part in what we may name the priestly worship, it was as participants at the sacrificial meal at the high-place. It is, therefore, with some surprise that we find but few traces of Egyptian influence in the Old Testament writings. All that we have from this source are a few names like Moses, and Phineas, the son of Eli; probably the custom of circumcision; a few stories like that of Joseph in the service of his Egyptian lord; and the figure of Nimrod.³⁵ To these must probably be added a very important item, namely, the scheme of prophecy.³⁶

On the other hand it is a well-known fact that almost every page of the Old Testament shows ideas which have *parallels* in the Babylonian literature. In many cases direct borrowing must be admitted, but it should not be forgotten that many of the ideas common to both Babylonian and Israelitish thinking, are ideas common to the Semitic race, indeed many of them are the common property of all peoples. But, admitting such borrowing of ideas, the question remains, when and how those Babylonian influences reached Palestine. Four periods are thought of: first, the time between Sargon of Akkad and Hammurabi; second, the Amarna period; third, the Assyrian period, after *ca.* 850 B.C.; and last, the period of the Exile and thereafter.

We saw in our discussion of the history of Palestine in the light

³⁴ It may be added that this is still the religion of the common people of Palestine today.

³⁵ Meyer, *Diē Israeliten*, 446 f.

³⁶ The Egyptian literature contains a prophetic element beginning in the third millennium B.C. and culminating in the second and third centuries A.D. The scheme is always the same. Some wise man opens up the future for the king and then sinks down and dies. The content of the message is, that there is to come a time of calamity, in which the whole country shall go to ruin, the people are to be driven into exile, etc. Upon this era follows another in which the gods are to look with favor upon the land and all is to be well. See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 451 f.; and Smith, *Biblical World*, April (1910), 227 f.

of the excavations,³⁷ that the historical evidence that Sargon or Hammurabi ever controlled Palestine is extremely meager; and also that the results of the excavations make it improbable that Babylonia exerted any considerable influence in this country at this early period. When the Amarna period, *ca.* 1400 B.C., was reached, we found Babylonian the diplomatic language of the country. Again, in view of the fact that the excavations showed no other traces of Babylonian influence, while objects showing the influence of Egypt were found in large numbers, the hypothesis was advanced that the Amarna letters cannot be used as evidence of centuries of Babylonian influence in Canaan, but that the Babylonian language and script were brought into the country by the Hittite peoples, who, as we know from other sources, made use of the Babylonian language and script, and were advancing upon Syria and Palestine in this period. The presumption is that direct Babylonian influence in this period was not strong. Indeed we might close the discussion at this point, were it not for the fact that there is a tendency among scholars to find the origin of many, if not most, of the ideas of the Israelites in the thought of their predecessors, the Canaanites, who in turn are supposed to have derived them from Babylonia. It would be impossible to discuss this question fully in this place and we must therefore limit the discussion to a few points.

The so-called Wellhausen school of Old Testament scholars has held that the idea of monotheism in Israel was the result of the activity of the *prophets*, particularly those of the eighth century B.C. Previous to their time Yahweh was regarded as a national god alongside of others like Chemosh of Moab, etc., and still earlier he was the local deity of Mount Sinai. Now the pan-Babylonians hold that monotheism as doctrine was part of the ancient-oriental theory of the universe,³⁸ and that it was probably part of Canaanitish thought long before the time of the prophets of Israel. This is based chiefly upon two facts: (1) the traces of a monotheistic tendency in the religion of the Babylonians, and (2) the monotheism of Amenhotep IV of Egypt. This latter is used as an argument to prove that monotheism was in the

³⁷ *Biblical World*, January and February (1910), 10 f., and 97 f.

³⁸ "Altorientalische Weltanschauung" of the Babylonians; see the *Biblical World*, January (1910), 32.

air in the second millennium B.C., throughout the Semitic world. It may be admitted at the outset that there was a monotheistic *tendency* in the *speculation of the priests* of the different Babylonian temples, but all that this means is that there existed the natural tendency on the part of the priests of a great cult like that of Marduk of the city of Babylon to look upon their god as the chief deity of the pantheon. We know from a text of the *late Babylonian period* that the priests of Marduk looked upon such important deities of the pantheon as Enlil, the old god of Nippur, Shamash, Adad, Ninib, Nergal and others, as different manifestations of Marduk himself. How long before this period this speculation was current among the Marduk priests we have no means of knowing, but we have no right to assume that it was hundreds of years old.³⁹ At any rate it is certain that this doctrine remained part of the speculative theology of the priests and never became part of the religion or thought of the masses. There is absolutely no reason for thinking that this tendency toward monotheism was part of the thought of Canaan in the second millennium B.C.⁴⁰ Amenhotep IV forcibly instituted monotheism as the state religion of Egypt. But it is a well-known fact that he had scarcely

³⁹ Indeed we may be almost certain that this speculation did not go back as far as the time of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (668-626 B.C.). Two volumes of the *Cuneiform Texts* (XXIV and XXV) published by the British Museum, are devoted to texts from this king's library which have to do exclusively with lists of gods and their attributes. Mr. L. W. King in the introduction to Vol. XXIV, 9 f., points out the advance in their system of theology made by the priests of the late Babylonian period over those of the time of Ashurbanipal. For instance, in the texts from Ashurbanipal's library, Sur, an unimportant rain-god, was identified with Adad, the great weather-god. "The later text makes a further advance by identifying Adad himself with Marduk, in whose person it unites the powers of nature." Again in the earlier texts Urash is identified with Ninib as god of strength, while in the later text Ninib is identified with Marduk as god of strength. The difference is evident. In the earlier texts minor deities whose attributes were such that they seemed but shadowy reflections of some great deity were first made the ministers of the greater deity, and later identified with him. In the later texts deities who had always ranked among the great gods of the pantheon and who were in no way subordinate to Marduk—in fact most of them had been prominent in the pantheon centuries before Marduk rose to the rank of a great god—were now looked upon as representing different aspects of Marduk.

⁴⁰ An interesting example of the method of the pan-Babylonians is seen in their use of the letter of Ishtar-washur from Taanach (*Tell Ta'anneh*, 115 f.). The important parts of the letter as translated by Hrozný read as follows, "To Ishtar-washur: Achi-Yawi, May the lord of the gods protect thy life. . . . Over my head (is) one who is over the cities. Now see whether he will show thee favor! Further: If he shows

passed away when the reaction set in and an effort was made to remove every trace of his "reform" and the memory of his name from Egypt. On the other hand it must be remembered that the tendency on the part of the priesthood of the great Egyptian cults like that of Amon at Thebes to make their god supreme, existed in Egypt before and after the time of Amenhotep IV, but we have already seen how little impression any official cult made upon the common people of Egypt, not to speak of the common people of the subject provinces such as Palestine and Syria. Apart from the abortive "reform" of Amenhotep IV there is no trace of anything that can be called monotheism in any Semitic religion before the time of the prophets of Israel and these must still be looked upon as the men who discovered for themselves the fact that their god was the god of the universe.⁴¹

his jace, they (i.e., the enemy) will come to shame and the victory will be great." The words in italics were *conjectural* translations, and indicated as such by Hrozný. But Baentsch in his *Monotheismus*, 57 f., quotes these passages, without indicating that there is any doubt about the translation of any part of the letter, and draws the most sweeping conclusions therefrom. "The writer," he says, "is not concerned with Bel and Hadad, not with Astarte or Asherah, not with Amon, Ninib, and Nergal, the principal deities then worshiped in Canaan [a point, it might be said parenthetically which is anything but near the truth], but with the lord of all the gods, who stands high above the gods worshiped by the common people, and whose worship is not limited to any particular city. And the way he speaks of this *summus deus* with an air of mystery and solemnity, 'over my head is one, will you not also seek his favor,' shows that in this man's mind there had sprung up the idea (Ahnung) of the one almighty god, before whom the other gods must recede and lose their brilliance." This all sounds well, but the whole structure of Canaanitish monotheism built upon this letter falls to the ground when one looks at the strictly grammatical translation of the letter offered by Ungnad in Gressman's *Die Ausgrabungen in Palästina und das Alte Testament*, 20. The passage in question becomes, "Say to Ishtar-washur: Thus saith Achi-Yami: May the lord of the gods preserve thy life. . . . Upon my head is everyone who the cities . . . Now behold, I have done thee good! Further: If . . . there is at hand, then . . ." In a word, there is absolutely no reference to a great god of all, but instead the letter presents a large number of difficult passages whose meaning cannot be discovered. The very expression "lord of the gods" of course excludes the idea of monotheism. All that it can possibly indicate is that some local god, probably the baal of Taanach was considered or at least referred to as lord among the other gods. But this is not monotheism.

⁴¹ The difficulty in this discussion is that scholars will insist upon jumping from a discussion of *monotheistic tendencies*, which are common to most religions which have advanced beyond the primitive stages, to *monotheism* as "*Lehre*," without showing any proof that this development has occurred. It is possible that there existed among the choice spirits of Canaan a higher religion that that of the masses, but we

But when did the Babylonian ideas clearly traceable in the Old Testament reach the Israelites? The writer believes that most of them were taken over by the Jews in and after the Exile. Of course it is probable that some of the stories which show relationship with Babylonian legends came to Palestine earlier. So the story of the Deluge as found in the J document of the Old Testament must have found its way west considerably earlier than the Exile, but we need not jump to the conclusion that it was known in Palestine for a thousand years before this time. The same story as told by the author of the P document shows direct borrowing from the Babylonian original.

As is well known, the Babylonian account of the creation pictures the struggle between Marduk and Tiamat who represents chaos. The mention of *t'hôm*, which is the same as Tiamat, in the biblical (P) account of the creation has suggested that the author had the Babylonian story before him when he wrote his creation story. Gunkel has shown that there are many allusions in the Old Testament writings to a conflict between God and some monster, Rahab, Leviathan, Behemoth, and dragons in general.⁴² This of course shows that the legend of a struggle between the creator and chaos was current in Palestine before the time when the author of P wrote his story. It is significant, however, that none of these allusions occur earlier than Isaiah but most of them in Job and the later books of the Old Testament. The writer admits that negative arguments are not worth much, but they should at least warn us not to draw sweeping conclusions as to the great antiquity of all of these ideas in Canaan.

The whole question may be summed up briefly. Neither the historical nor the archaeological evidence warrants the assumption that Babylonia controlled this country for centuries before Egypt gained control. Egyptian control and influence are evident from the results of the excavations for the period from *ca.* 2000 to 1200 B.C. The Babylonian influences that reached Palestine during this period

are not in a position to prove it, much less to indicate what it was. And if it existed it seems strange that we should find no trace of it in the writings of the early prophets of Israel. They condemn the Canaanitish religion *in toto*.

⁴² *Schöpfung und Chaos*. Cf. also Zimmern in *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*, 507 f.

probably came along the trade-routes and were carried largely by the Hittite peoples. Assyrian control in this region began about 850 B.C. and culminated in the overthrow of the two Israelitish kingdoms. The writer believes that the Assyrian period allows sufficient time for the assimilation of most of the Babylonian ideas which must be regarded as pre-exilic. But by far the greater part of these Babylonian ideas became part of Hebrew thought in and after the Exile.

In conclusion it may be said that the excavations have furnished little new material for the reconstruction of the religion of the Canaanites. They have, however, abundantly illustrated the chief features of that religion as it had already been known from a critical study of the Old Testament writings. On the other hand they have not substantiated a single claim of the pan-Babylonian scholars, and, until these can point to facts instead of building hypotheses upon hypotheses, we may continue to believe that the school of Wellhausen has given us the best reconstruction of the religion of Israel, both as to its origin and evolution.

THE BIBLE IN JAPAN

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The Bible is the foundation of Protestant Christianity. The success, accordingly, of Protestant missions in Japan is bound up with that of the Bible.

The purpose of this paper is to state in briefest terms the influence of this book in Japan.

I. HOW THE BIBLE CAME TO JAPAN

Roman catholic missionaries reached Japan in 1549 A.D. They certainly brought the Latin Bible with them, but in accord with their principles they did not translate it. When, therefore, Christianity was banished from Japan, in 1614 A.D., and some 200,000 native Christians suffered martyrdom, no Christian literature was left. There is good reason for believing, however, that not all knowledge of the Bible was destroyed; for Motoori, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, commenting on the Shinto sacred books, interpreted them in the light of the early chapters of Genesis. How far Christian teaching molded the thought of Japanese moralists of the Tokugawa era (1600-1850) is a literary problem not yet worked out. The one thing certain is that the Japanese government succeeded in utterly destroying all visible evidences of Christianity.

When Japan opened her gates in 1854, she was confronted by a type of Christianity profoundly different in spirit and intellectual content from that which they had expelled two hundred years before. That aimed at the dominance of an ecclesiastical organization. This rested its claims on a book and sought only the dominance of its religious and ethical ideals.

Commodore Perry observed the sabbath and read from his Bible as the Word of God; Townsend Harris failed not to maintain the equanimity of his spirit and persistence of his purpose—carefully keeping the sabbath and religiously reading his Bible.

When, in 1859, Protestant missionaries came to Japan, they

brought the Bible in their right hands, their divine commission for attempting the impossible. Of all the possessions of the missionary, the Bible was that most feared and hated by Japanese officialdom. It was supposed to contain the quintessence of evil, the sacred formulae and the magic charms whereby Christians bewitch people and lead them into all kinds of iniquity. To read the Christian Bible was a crime against the state of the first magnitude.

The first Bible voluntarily read by a Japanese, so far as we know, was a Dutch Testament, found by a nobleman, floating in the harbor of Nagasaki in 1854. With the help of a Chinese translation secretly secured from Shanghai, after many years of secret study and aided by stealthy visits of a retainer at long intervals to Dr. Verbeck the nobleman, with two others, was finally baptized (1866). In the meantime young men, in their zeal to learn English, began studying the English Bible under the guidance of missionaries, and at first were astonished beyond measure to find it a book of such moral insight and purity, with teachings comparable to those of the best parts of Confucius. Responsible leaders of New Japan soon came to the conclusion that Japan had nothing to fear from either Christianity or the Bible. This discovery, added to the insistence of foreign governments that Japan could not be regarded as an equal until the edict against Christianity was removed, led to that momentous change in her national policy. In 1872 the banning-boards were removed throughout the land and preaching soon began based directly on the Bible and its message of God's redeeming love revealed in Jesus Christ. Protestant missionaries early set to work to translate the Bible into the vernacular. The insufficiency of private efforts led, in 1876, to the organization of a representative translation committee. The New Testament was completed and published in 1880 and the Old Testament in 1887.

With the growing popularity of western civilization, during the '80's, Christian preaching and the Bible were much in vogue; New Testaments were bought by the ten thousand, and were looked into more or less. Previous to 1890, the figures giving Bible circulation are incomplete; but it is estimated, from such figures as are available, that about one and one-half million Bibles, New Testaments, and portions were distributed. From July 1890, to January

1909, 101,000 Bibles, 635,000 New Testaments, and 2,844,000 portions were circulated. During the two wars, with China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-5), a large number of the soldiers were provided with single gospels.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF THE BIBLE ON THE ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF JAPAN

A volume would be needed adequately to treat this theme. Even though measured by the number of members in the Protestant churches (70,000) the influence of the Bible has been truly great. But measured by the changes of moral and religious ideals and practices in the life of the nation effected since the beginning of Protestant work in 1859, the influence is too great to be easily or accurately expressed. It is, of course, impossible to distinguish and separate the influence of the Bible—working by itself—from that of the varied forms of missionary effort and influence, together with the indirect influences exerted by the Christian civilizations of Christendom. But regarding these all as products of the Bible, and also regarding the innumerable Christian influences exerted on Japan by her contact with Christian lands and civilization, through her reading of their literature permeated with Christian ideals, and through Japanese who have traveled or studied in those Christian lands, as also direct or indirect products of the Christian Bible, we cannot avoid the conviction that the whole upward trend, not only in Japan's modern moral and religious life, but also in her efforts at popular education, in her adoption of the principles of religious liberty, civil liberty, equality of personal rights before the law, emphasis on equality of man and woman, the need of female education, and especially the recent emphasis, by conspicuous leaders, on monogamy and the need of purity for men—all these modern modes of life and effort are the direct and indirect results of biblical influence.

Even the renewed vitality of Shinto, Confucian, and Buddhist faiths and their emphasis on the better elements of their own teachings are the effects of biblical influence. Buddhist, Shinto, and Confucian teachers in recent years often quote the Bible, sometimes acknowledging their source, but frequently without such acknowledgment. Many a pithy saying from the Bible is now current coin,

such as, "Man shall not live by bread alone"; "Man lives by the sweat of his brow."

Buddhists especially are making great use of Christian methods. Buddhist Sunday schools and Young Men's Buddhist Associations are common. Buddhist creeds follow the general outlines of Christian creeds. Buddhists have even made selections from their voluminous canonical literature and issued a volume in appearance identical with that of our own Bible.

But we have abundant evidence for the direct and powerful influence of Christianity which is even more impressive. Many a leader in Japanese life has of late confessed his indebtedness to the early missionary and his instruction in the Bible. At the recent Jubilee Conference, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Protestant missions in Japan, several striking testimonies of this nature were given, notably by Count Okuma and Bishop Honda. A leading professor in the Imperial University of Tokyo, a professed Buddhist, told the writer recently, that in his view Buddhism holds the doctrine of the personality of the Ultimate Being. When asked if he had not learned that from Christianity and incorporated it into Buddhism, his reply was that his knowledge of Christianity had helped him to find this truth in Buddhism.

I conclude this section with the single observation that the Bible has influenced Japan, because of its intrinsic nature and value, and not because of any theories as to its inspiration, errorlessness, and authority. Missionaries have, indeed, taught these doctrines. But they have not been the ground on which the Bible has exerted its influence. Of the vast multitude who have received from the Bible mighty, though indirect, impulses for good, few have ever given a second thought to the question as to whether or not the Bible is inspired and authoritative in the Christian sense. They only know that the Bible and Christianity have teachings and ideals that appeal to them as good and true, and motives that move them mightily.

III. THE CHRISTIAN BIBLE AND THE "SACRED" BOOKS OF JAPAN

The powerful influence of the Bible in Japan is due in no small measure to the contrasts between it and the so-called "sacred books of the East." We may distinguish three sets, those belonging respec-

tively to the Shinto, Buddhist, and Confucian faiths. Each group comprises an enormous number of works, in style and language unintelligible except to scholars. There are said to be over five thousand volumes in the Buddhist canon. No scholar, even, can read it all. Different sects rest, each on its own preferred sutras, which are regarded as authoritative, while the rest are ignored. Shinto "sacred" books deal chiefly with Japan's mythical history and the ritual of the court religion. The English translation of the oldest of these books is more intelligible to the average Japanese student than is the original. Buddhist literature is predominantly concerned with metaphysics, abstruse in the extreme. Confucian literature is far superior to all the rest in moral interest and quality. It is, however, a religion for scholars only. Its ethical doctrines are expressed in pithy phrases and glittering generalities. The Christian Bible thus has an initial advantage over the other sacred books by reason of its small size, cheap price, and popular language.

As we well know, biblical teaching is concrete and filled with human interest—particularly the gospels and Acts. It is in a language easily intelligible to the ordinary mind. It, too, needs interpretation and exposition at the beginning; but once the door to its main ideas of God and man, of Jesus and the Holy Spirit, of sin and salvation has been opened—which is not so difficult an operation—the mind easily grasps the rich stores of spiritual wealth. The Bible is profoundly and always ethical and religious. Its ideas are at bottom simple and in accord with experience, yet grand, elevating, inspiring. They are fitted, as experience shows, to the uneducated, and to children, no less than to scholars and philosophers. In each of these points the Christian Scriptures far surpass rival literatures. And then, too, the Bible brings light into the chaos of life, gives meaning to the world, existence, and self, and hope of final victory and joy and peace. In none of these respects do the others compare with the Bible. Thus it is coming to pass that the Bible is read and is influencing modern life in Japan far and wide.

IV. THE DOCTRINES OF THE INSPIRATION, ERRORLESSNESS, AND AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE

When the missionaries began to teach the Bible, they naturally emphasized these doctrines. And many still do. Such emphasis

was no doubt a help. When trust in the goodness and truthfulness of the missionaries, as men, began to develop, it was no doubt a help to their proclamation of the gospel for them to be able to say that in this little book they possessed absolute truth, the very word of God to men. The personal character of the missionaries was the ground on which the Japanese were first led to look into and study a book of which they were naturally mortally afraid. As they studied and read the portions selected by the missionaries, they found not only teachings intrinsically good and true, but commands that required Christians to proclaim the gospel to all the world. The Bible thus became the authority for the missionary—the authority for his message and work and the explanation of his amazing courage and zeal. The Bible words and missionary character were thus mutual supports, mutual guarantees. The claim, too, of Bible inspiration was an incentive to young students to study and to mold their lives on biblical models, to take the Bible at its word.

Now, these doctrines worked well so long as the young Christians were acquainted only with the New Testament and Psalms and sections from the Prophets, and so long as the Christian community was unacquainted with modern critical scholarship. When, however, higher criticism came to Japan, with the arrival of Unitarian missionaries from Boston (1887), and German missionaries from Berlin (1888), a great revulsion took place—questions were asked, loss of faith was experienced both in the missionaries and in the Bible. The critical questions which vexed the church at home came to Japan with especially destructive force, due to the slight religious experience of the Christians, most of whom were young men with their corresponding lack of experimental foundations for faith.

Only a slight examination of the abundant materials put into their hands by Biblical critics and vociferous haters of Christianity demolished completely the theory of the errorlessness of the Bible. Its collision with modern science was a matter not difficult to prove, for the doctrines of materialistic evolution were widely proclaimed in the '80's. Portions of Spencer's *Synthetic Philosophy* were early translated. Under such circumstances the traditional doctrines of supernatural revelation, inspiration, errorlessness, and authority were generally abandoned even by pastors.

To develop afresh among educated Japanese Christians, faith in the inspiration and authority of the Bible it has become as necessary here as it is in other progressive communities to concentrate emphasis on essentials. The Bible must be taught, not as a miraculously given, errorless revelation of supernatural truth, equally authoritative in all its parts, but as a record of a progressive revelation of God's redemptive love culminating in Jesus Christ by whose mind and character as depicted in the gospels we judge all other portions. It has become necessary to rest our case for the inspiration and authority of the Bible, not on its verbal accuracy, the correctness of its scientific statements, or its freedom from historical errors, but rather on its intrinsic religious and ethical power. We need only to show that the Bible throws real light on man's deepest problems, religious, moral, and even intellectual, that it brings the universe into a new perspective, causes it to glow with a new light, and enables sinful men to find a loving, redeeming Father and gives them continuous power to battle with doubt and temptation. Experience of this power in the Bible brings conviction of its inspiration and authority such as can be given by no abstract, merely logical proof. Such are the grounds on which the doctrines of inspiration and authority are being taught by many missionaries and by nearly all Japanese pastors. When thus taught the Bible gains and holds the minds and hearts of the strongest and most highly educated men.

The Bible is coming to be recognized as the unique religious book of the world, fitted to nourish religious life in every land. It is in truth the one universal religious book just because it has this power to bring men face to face with God. No other "sacred" book of any race or religion has such power as this. This power is obscured by the older conception of the Bible as an errorless book given miraculously and possessed of a corresponding supernatural truth and authority. This modern and now rapidly becoming orthodox view of the Bible disarms hostile critics, turns discussion into fruitful lines, and gives opportunity for the Bible to exert its true influence and attain its rightful place in the lives of men. This it is doing more and more, and we have every reason to believe that in due season the Bible will become the one universally acknowledged sacred book of Japan.

THE PRESENTATION OF BIBLICAL STORIES TO CHILDREN

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In presenting biblical stories to children, whether in the home or in the Sunday class, the paramount aim of the parent or teacher must be to bring the spirit of the story home to the mind of the child, that is, to present the story in such a way, that not the mere occurrences and details will remain in his memory, but rather the essence of the story will become, as it were, a part of his own experience. Obviously, as corollary of this, it follows that the lesson imparted will not be in the shape of a formal moral, drawn from the narrative, but rather of an effect—I would say largely aesthetic—upon the child's mind and heart, an effect which will remain with him as an unconscious guide and motive force in his own conduct. How is this end to be attained?

In the first place, it is of supreme importance that the language of the story and its literary form in general be adhered to as closely as possible. It is a fact that in every literary product of worth, form and contents are closely though subtly interdependent. The thought demands a certain mode of expression. It creates a vehicle for itself, and this, which we call the literary form, adds, in its turn, an indefinable flavor or association to the thought, throws on it a certain light which often constitutes the effectiveness of the whole.

In the light of this fact the necessity of proper regard for the literary form of the biblical stories is obvious. But this principle, which is accepted without question in the case of one of Aesop's fables, or of Grimm's fairy-tales, has, it would seem, in the opinion of the average Sunday-school teacher, no application to a story from the Bible. On the contrary, there seems to be at present a rather widespread view that the biblical stories must be adapted to the mind of the child, and that, in the form of presentation, the less they resemble their

¹ A paper read before the Jewish Religious Education Association of Ohio.

originals, the better they serve the purpose of fostering religious sentiments in the youthful mind.

In order to show the fallacy of this view and to substantiate my plea for a return to the spirit and language of the biblical stories, it will be necessary, first of all, to briefly consider these stories in regard to their literary character and aesthetic value.

I

Almost a century and a half ago, Johannes Winckelmann pointed out the fundamental aesthetical law governing all works of art and literature, and as the principle then established by him has stood the test to the present day, I cannot do better than quote his words here, before applying his principle to the biblical narratives. He says:

All beauty is heightened by unity and simplicity, as is everything which we do and say; for whatever is great in itself is elevated, when executed and uttered with simplicity. It is not more strictly circumscribed, nor does it lose any of its greatness, because the mind can survey and measure it with a glance, and comprehend and embrace it in a single idea; but the very readiness with which it may be embraced places it before us in its true greatness, and the mind is enlarged, and likewise elevated, by the comprehension of it. Everything which we must consider in separate pieces, or which we cannot survey at once from the number of its constituent parts, loses thereby some portion of its greatness, just as a long road is shortened by many objects presenting themselves on it or by inns at which a stop can be made. The harmony which ravishes the soul does not consist in arpeggios and tied and slurred notes, but in simple, long-drawn tones. This is the reason why a large palace appears small, when it is overloaded with ornament, and a house large, when elegant and simple in its style.²

In accordance with this, it will be seen that the biblical stories are masterpieces of narration, combining, as they do, depth of thought and of emotion with wonderful directness and simplicity of form. In this lofty simplicity of presentation, which is characteristic of true art even as of the works of nature, lie, undoubtedly, the strength and the charm of the biblical narratives, their special effectiveness for the purpose of religious teaching.

With a few simple strokes situations are presented, and actions and characters masterfully developed. The events narrated follow each other in rapid succession, and at no point of the narration is the

² *History of Ancient Art*, translated from the German by G. Henry Lodge, I, 310 f.

progress retarded, and our attention distracted by ornamental description or accessory details. Far from there being any diffuseness or prolixity, there is in these narratives often rather an abruptness, an omission of the connecting links which is fairly puzzling to the reader of today. The elimination of everything non-essential and subordinate adds necessarily to the vividness and force of the story. What is left unsaid, makes what is said more impressive.

It is this simplicity of narration, which stirs the heart and fires the imagination, that makes the biblical narratives a storehouse of wisdom and suggestiveness to the mature thinker, as well as ready food for the eager mind of the child. And it is this simplicity, finally, which, as it has made the Bible, as a whole, the classical book of religious experience, makes the biblical stories in particular a fitting vehicle for the inculcation of that great truth which their authors meant them to illustrate, that religion not only ennobles man's life, but gives it worth and purpose.

Almost any one of the biblical stories would serve equally well to illustrate this typical simplicity of style and aesthetic effectiveness, but let us refer briefly here to the story of Joseph, which of all the biblical stories is perhaps the one best known and oftenest related to children. Justly so, since the variety of incident and of emotion involved in this story makes it particularly rich in dramatic effect.

The story opens without preamble of any sort, unfolding at the very outset, the ill-boding situation in Jacob's household, which contains the germ of all that follows. We see first the strained relation among the brothers created by Jacob's open preference of Joseph. Then follow the disastrous, but natural, consequences of the father's partiality, Joseph's increasing vanity and self-importance and the evergrowing hatred and jealousy of his brethren, culminating in their cruel betrayal of him.

All is concise, vivid, dramatic. The necessary element of pathos is added to the account by Joseph's unsuspectingness, revealed in his solicitude for his brothers when he fails to find them in the expected place. "I seek my brethren," he answers the stranger, "tell me, I pray thee, where they are pasturing their flocks."

Then there is the contrast between Reuben's affection, his plans to save Joseph, and his despair at his disappearance, and the unnatural

cruelty of the other brothers, and, finally, there is the anguish of the bereaved father who refuses to be comforted.

Note the complexity of feelings appealed to because of the various human passions involved—love and jealousy, hatred and cruelty, remorse and grief. Note especially all that is left to the imagination to supply. The modern story-writer would have made a strong point of describing in detail the scene of Joseph's betrayal and his subsequent experiences among the Midianitish traders. But there is not a word of all this here. We have simply the bald, uncolored statement that "the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's and captain of the guard."

In this first chapter we have seen Joseph, the favorite son, the untried youth in his father's household, Joseph the dreamer; in the second, we are shown Joseph a slave in Egypt, the trusted, responsible servant, overseer in the household of Potiphar. Thrown upon his own resources and tried by suffering, the youth has become a man.

The process of adjustment to his new conditions, as were the details of his parting and journey, are left to the imagination of the reader. We are not told that he repined under the unwonted toil and hardships he had to endure as slave, neither that he yearned for his father and his home. All that we are told at this point is that "the Lord was with him and made all that he did to prosper in his hand."

"The Lord was with him, and made all that he did to prosper in his hand." That is all, but here we have the key to Joseph's character and the whole second chapter in a nutshell. We are told in effect that Joseph took up his new life and his new work with a will, that he put his soul into his work. For only when a man puts his soul into his work can it prosper and be worth while. Joseph evidently was diligent and conscientious, zealous and capable, and his master, seeing his spirit and the quality of his work, knew that he could trust him. Wisely he placed him at the head of his household, "and all that he had he put into his hand," and we are not surprised to read that "the Lord blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake, and the blessing of the Lord was upon all that he had in the house and in the field."

The proof of Joseph's inherent nobility of character is given in his attitude to his master's wife when she seeks to seduce him.

Reminding her how implicitly his master trusts him, he declares, "How, then, can I do this great wickedness and sin against God!" And, though she pursues him with her wiles, he hearkens not to her temptings. His responsibility is equal to his trust.

Thrown into prison, Joseph, we are given to infer, does not brood over the injustice done him in that he has been made to suffer for his honor and virtuousness. With the strength of a great character he adjusts himself to his new life and wins the respect and the love of his new associates. That he showed himself kind and sympathetic to his fellow-prisoners, as also trustworthy and capable in his work, we know, inasmuch as we are told: "The Lord was with Joseph and made men's hearts incline to him and gave him favor in the eyes of the keeper of the prison, and the keeper of the prison committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison, and looked not to anything that was under his hand, and that which he did, the Lord made it to prosper."

The remainder of the Joseph-story satisfies our sense of fitness and dramatic effect in like manner. And take any other story you please, that of Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David, Naomi and Ruth, Paradise, Cain, Balak and Balaam, Abimelech, or Samson, it is the same; each is a type of its own, mirroring life, beautiful or wretched, as the case may be, but always searching the depths of the human soul. What makes them all perfect types of narration is the characteristic above alluded to, that everything foreign to the unity of the story, everything that would tend to mar the harmonious simplicity of the whole is absent. The biblical narratives do not bear the didactic stamp, as do, e.g., the narratives of the Hindu literature which have so often been extolled for their pedagogical value. The progress of the biblical narratives is never interrupted by moral reflections or discourses as in the case of the Hindu stories; and it is precisely this feature which gives them their superior pedagogical worth; for the power of a work of art or literature to carry our soul away, to stimulate a love of all that is noble and beautiful, or arouse horror and loathing of all that is low, will be the greater, the more harmonious the unity of its diverse parts, the more imperceptibly these merge into one another.

In the Hindu narrative literature, the constant deviations from direct narration caused by the pronounced didactic tendency, makes

these stories tiresome, and produce just the opposite effect of that at which their authors aimed. When the aesthetic effectiveness of a story is destroyed, the moral effect is bound to suffer too.

Not diffuseness and expatiation, but concentration and suggestiveness are the secret of literary effectiveness. Exhaust the subject from every viewpoint, say everything that is possible to be said, and the reader is left cold, probably bored; stimulate his thought, stir his imagination, let him draw his own deductions from the material you have provided, and the story is part of him for all time.

In the story of Joseph it is noticeable, as I have already pointed out, that there is no description of the scene of Joseph's betrayal, no reference to his suffering in the pit, to his pleadings when sold to the passing slave-traders, in fact, to any of the circumstances of his sale and departure; nor is it mentioned that the brothers suffered remorse for their evil deed, or that their guilt weighed heavily on them during the years that followed. But could any detailed description give the reader such a picture of Joseph's suffering and the brothers' remorse as does the passage later on in the story, which relates how, when Joseph after the lapse of years has requested his brethren to bring Benjamin to him in Egypt, they said to one another, conscience-stricken, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this disaster come upon us."

II

Since the language and style of the Bible are so effective, it follows that any departure therefrom must seriously interfere with the impression produced. It goes without saying that the biblical stories cannot always be related verbatim to children. Circumlocutions or omissions, as the case may demand, must sometimes be made. The judgment of the parent or teacher must here be his guide, but all deviations should be made with deference to the spirit of the whole.

Brief interspersions are also occasionally necessary in order that the child may grasp the logical sequence of the situations or happenings narrated, and that the various interlaced parts of the story may bear the proper proportion and significance to his mind.

These interspersions are necessary because of the peculiarity of the biblical, or more correctly the oriental, style, hinted at above, a peculiarity which to the occidental mind is at once strange and misleading, that of the abrupt thought-transitions, the juxtaposition of ideas where not coincidence is to be understood, but sequence. Occidental literature tolerates no sudden transitions; each link in the chain of thought must be given, and given in its proper sequence, and each situation be developed out of the preceding one. But in oriental literature, quite frequently, the thoughts are joined to one another in an aphoristic manner, the author relying on the reader to discern the association of ideas which leads from one thought to the other. Similarly, in the progress of narration, situation is added to situation in much the same way as a series of events is depicted by a novelistic painter. Like the latter, the oriental writer depends on his readers or audience to see the proper relation or sequence of the various situations.³

Thus, to illustrate from the story of Joseph, Joseph's dreams, though preluding his future elevation, have still another connection in the story. They are to be understood as emanating, like his action of carrying tales on his brothers, from the feeling of self-importance fostered in him by the unwise favoritism shown him by his father. This the author made sufficiently clear for the oriental mind by the rebuke he puts in the mouth of the father, on the occasion of Joseph's second dream: "What dream is this thou hast been dreaming? Shall we, I, thy mother, and thy brothers be expected to come and bow down before thee to the ground?"

Again, whereas the first chapter ends with the simple statement that Joseph was sold as a slave to Potiphar, the second chapter presents Joseph as a man of the most highly developed character, who makes his worth felt in every situation, faithful and conscientious in his stewardship, sympathetic and gentle toward those under him in prison, modest yet commanding as he appears before Pharaoh. Not a word of explanation to account for the period of trial and development that must have intervened! That trial has brought out the best

³ This feature of oriental style can be here only briefly referred to although it is of great importance in biblical interpretation. I expect to deal with it more fully in a commentary on Job which I have in preparation.

in Joseph and made a man of the petted youth, we are, as we have seen, justified in inferring, but we are not told.

This juxtaposition of the various stages in the development of the story is perfectly clear to the oriental mind, thinking as it does by leaps and bounds, or to the occidental mind which has become accustomed to the oriental style; but to the mind of the child it naturally presents many difficulties. It is here that the teacher must come to the aid of the pupil by skilfully filling in the gap and establishing the proper sequence. Any explanatory remarks, however, must be in keeping with the style and spirit of the story, must be concise and cogent, and bear due regard to the aesthetic effect of the whole. Thus it would be amiss to enter into a detailed description of the privation and hardships Joseph had to suffer as Potiphar's slave or while in prison. Any diffuse description of minor points is sure to mar the unity of the story; and, as already stated, it is just the absence of such descriptions and of irrelevant, though accessory, details that makes the biblical stories pre-eminently fitted to stir up moral and religious sentiments in the child.

It follows from this also that it is a mistake to think the moral of the story must in each case be emphasized, and that constant reference must be made to the practical application of the story to the child's sphere of interest. Just the opposite is, in fact, the case.

Literature, like the other arts, produces moral effects through the medium of the aesthetic sense. We are made to realize the beauty of a noble, virtuous life, and we desire to possess it in ourselves. We are led to feel the loathsomeness of meanness and vice, and the dislike of such becomes ingrained in us. Thus through the biblical stories, right feeling on moral questions is nourished unconsciously; even as all a child's habits are acquired unconsciously, and his leanings determined.

Character in the young, it cannot be too often repeated, is most naturally influenced by example, by example which appeals to them and stirs them, consciously or unconsciously, to imitation. The authors of the biblical stories were wise pedagogues to rely altogether on this effect. One need only watch the child's face when a biblical story or, for that matter, any story of a high moral type is well told, to be convinced of his ready moral response.

In conclusion, let me recall that famous utterance of Alexander von Humboldt (if I may trust my memory): "If we had not the Bible, we would have to produce it." We have the Bible. Let us give it to our children—not give it to them in poor counterfeits and stilted moral paraphrases, but in its original simplicity, for in this lofty simplicity, as we started out by saying, lie both its charm to please and its power to influence. Let us present the biblical stories to our children intelligently, so that they will become their own, so that the best in them will become ingrained in their spiritual being and be to them, consciously or unconsciously, an inspiration and a guide.

JOHN THE BAPTIST AS FORERUNNER

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7. In the earlier portions of this paper* we found a good deal of evidence, some of it direct and some indirect, that John the Baptist made a profound impression on his time. There is more and stronger testimony—first, from Jesus; second, from the highest political authority; third, from the mouths of the people, as quoted by Jesus' disciples.

First, that of Jesus. It will be remembered that according to all the Synoptic Gospels³⁶ Jesus stopped the mouths of the ecclesiastics one day during Passion Week by asking them whether the baptism of John was of divine or of human origin. Now it is a fair question whether Jesus could have put this query merely as a trick of dialectic, or whether we must not think of him as speaking under the impulse of a profound conviction of his own in the matter. Probably also, Jesus' conviction of the divine origin of John's baptism may be inferred from his saying which is given us by Matthew,³⁷ that the publicans and harlots, because they believed John, would enter the kingdom of heaven before the ecclesiastics, who had not.

However, there is no need of conjecture as to Jesus' attitude toward John. We have his direct testimony. Matthew and Luke³⁸ report him as saying that John was more than a prophet, for the prophets only *foretold* the Messiah, while John prepared the way for his coming. And again, "Verily I say unto you, among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist."³⁹ And again (this is a paraphrase of one meaning of a much disputed

* *Biblical World*, May, 1910.

³⁶ Mark 11:27-33; Matt. 21:23-27; Luke 20:1-8.

³⁷ Matt. 21:31 f.

³⁸ Matt. 11:11-14; Luke 7:28; 16:16.

³⁹ It is quite impossible that the words which follow, "Yet he that is but little in the Kingdom of Heaven (or "of God," as in Luke), is greater than he," which by implication exclude John from the kingdom, should have come next from the lips of Jesus. As a later and rather clumsy apologetic addition they are intelligible enough. (See note 5 above.)

passage), "Among all the prophets of the Kingdom, John is the first who ever aroused enthusiasm. From his day to the present men are straining every nerve and are stopping at nothing to get into the Kingdom."

As might have been expected, no such testimony from the lips of Jesus is found in the Fourth Gospel.

Next, the testimony of Herod. The impression which John had made upon Herod is set forth most strongly in the earliest gospel. The Baptist had died under circumstances which left no doubt in Herod's mind as to the fact. In the meantime, Jesus had been growing in popularity and success, and Herod had heard of his mighty works. Who could anticipate the explanation which Herod gave of Jesus' power? "It is John the Baptist,"⁴⁰ said the monarch! One can almost hear his teeth chatter too, while he says it. For if this is really John, then John must have risen from the dead, as indeed Herod himself says. They tried to persuade him that the new wonder-worker was Elijah, or some other Old Testament character. "Don't tell me," said the monarch in effect. "That is John. I know him!"

So much from Mark. Now for the sequel to this very complimentary incident.

Matthew⁴¹ gives substantially the same as Mark, except that the chills have gone out of it. For Matthew omits the attempted persuasion of the friends, and also Herod's reiteration of his conviction. Next, we are told in Luke⁴² that when the report of Jesus' work came to the palace, Herod did *not* know what to make of it. Some said one thing and some another, but the only thing Herod was sure of was that John had died. Under the circumstances, Herod was "perplexed," says Luke! Finally in the Fourth Gospel, the whole incident is dropped just as the glowing testimony of Jesus was.

Third, the opinion of the people. It was their conviction⁴³ that the baptism of John was of divine origin. It was for fear of the people that the ecclesiastics dared not express their own disbelief on that day already referred to, when Jesus put the question to them.

Again we are told by all of the Synoptic Gospels⁴⁴ that near the

⁴⁰ Mark 6:14 ff.

⁴² Luke 9:7 ff.

⁴¹ Matt. 14:1 f.

⁴³ Matt. 21:23-27; Mark 11:27-33; Luke 20:1-8.

⁴⁴ Matt. 16:13-20; Mark 8:27-30; Luke 9:18-21.

close of Jesus' life he asked his disciples at Caesarea Philippi whom the people thought himself to be. Instead of answering briskly, 'The Messiah,' as they surely would have been glad to do if they could, they said in substance, "The prevailing opinion is that you are John the Baptist. Some however think you are Elijah, or another of the prophets." Quite consistently again the Fourth Gospel omits both of these incidents.

So the people agreed exactly with Herod. That Jesus was John come to life again accounted satisfactorily to them also for all Jesus had done and was doing!

It is a very interesting thing in passing to note the facile way, according to the testimony of Jesus' own disciples and of Christian writers, in which both Herod and the people assume the *resurrection* of John as a working hypothesis.

8. How are we to suppose the disciples of Jesus felt about these facts? In their loyalty to Jesus was it pleasant to be thought of by people in general as disciples of John, and of the resurrected John at that? Was it pleasant to have their master's personality swallowed up, so to speak, in the fame of John the Baptist? Was it pleasant to be regarded as merely a small section of a larger body of men, who had never given allegiance to Jesus, and whose master had gotten no nearer to it than a query? Probably it was anything but pleasant. We shall remember also that unsympathetic comparisons were drawn by someone about a matter of ceremonial, and that possibly Matthew is right in thinking that it was by John's disciples.

At least once, within the scope of our material, Jesus' disciples betrayed their feelings in the premises, when they complained to their Master that he was letting John's disciples get ahead. It was toward the last of Jesus' ministry, when his mind and heart were full of the coming tragedy. His disciples came to him and expressed regret that he had never yet taught them any prayers, as John had done for his own followers.⁴⁵ How did they happen to think of that? Did they

⁴⁵ Luke 11:1. What they wished was a *form of words* to be used in prayer. And that is what Jesus gave them. The fact that Jesus, a man of prayer, had not done this long ago, illustrates the difference between his idea of prayer and theirs. Matthew has incorporated this incident (without the complaint) in that collection of Jesus' sayings commonly known as the Sermon on the Mount, and has placed it thus quite early in Jesus' ministry (Matt. 6:9-13).

sometimes argue with John's disciples? Does not this incident indicate a certain sensitiveness on the part of the Twelve; a certain degree of jealous regard for their status and prestige as compared with the disciples of John; and at least a trace of nervous apprehension lest in some direction they might not be considered as strictly up to date? It will probably do no harm to remember that they were human, like ourselves.

9. Finally, having seen something of the general situation, we come to an event which may have given the zealous defenders of the faith in the young church more trouble than any which has been mentioned, perhaps more than all of them put together. That event is the baptism of Jesus by John.

The earliest record of the baptism reads: "And it came to pass in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee *and was baptized of John* in the Jordan."⁴⁶ There are no comments, and there is no attempt to explain anything.⁴⁷ Indeed, there is no suggestion that anything needs explanation. Mark, the blunt and unreflecting, tells the fact of the baptism in his usual simple way and passes on.

Now let us try to imagine what might happen, about the time when the Gospel of Mark was written, in an argument—let us say—between a disciple of Jesus and a disciple of John regarding the relative status of their masters. It would be possible for John's disciple to say, "Dear friend, our master baptized yours!"⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Mark 1:9.

⁴⁷ Unless it be held that what follows about the Dove and the Voice embodies such an explanation.

⁴⁸ "And what is more," he might have continued, "your master never began to preach at all until ours was stopped by Herod. And when he did begin, he began right where our master left off, preaching from the very same text." For it will be remembered that Mark says (Mark 1:14 f.): "Now *after John was delivered up*, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel." Matthew reads (Matt. 4:12, 17), "Now *when he heard that John was delivered up*, he withdrew into Galilee. . . . From that time began Jesus to preach and to say, Repent ye: for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."

Nothing of the sort is found in Luke or in the Fourth Gospel. According to Luke (Luke 4:14), one would infer that Jesus began to preach in Galilee immediately after the "Temptation," and without waiting for the end of the Baptist's activities. (Cf. also Acts 1:22; 10:37.) According to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus has had a Judean ministry—in which, however, the *teaching* at least seems to have been wholly private—

At such a challenge as this, based upon the Christian disciple's own tradition, that disciple, if he were wise, and if he had previously considered the matter no more than Mark seems to have done, would turn the conversation gently into other channels and retire as soon as possible to do some thinking. The result would be that while his own faith would probably not be shaken in the least, one thing would become perfectly clear to him, namely that the story of the Baptism, in the form in which it had come down to him, and in which he had tried to use it, was an exceedingly poor thing with which to defend his faith *before outsiders*.

As soon as this dawned upon the church as a whole, what would happen next? There are only two things which could happen. Either some suitable explanation of the Baptism must be found so as to avoid the apparent implications of the present story, or else the story must be dropped when conversing with outsiders. And if it should be impossible to drop it at once, because of the strength of the tradition, at least it need not be pushed to the front any longer.

Now, both of these solutions of the difficulty can be clearly traced in the later gospels.

and a Samaritan ministry which was in part public, before beginning to preach in Galilee. The Judean ministry moreover is represented as complete before John was imprisoned (John 4:1-3). Thus the difficulty involved in the earlier tradition as to the beginning of Jesus' ministry is avoided, and that too by a process, which develops, as usual, toward the Fourth Gospel. Again, in neither of these two gospels is John's text, "at hand," assigned to Jesus. In John's mouth the text containing these words meant, and was understood by his audiences to mean, "the Messiah is soon to come." The disputant would not have failed to ask what Jesus thought he was doing, when, according to Mark and Matthew, he used an expression so little calculated to awaken faith in his own messiahship, and so certain on the other hand to divert the attention of the "multitudes," who had heard John, away from himself to the speedy advent of that Coming One, for whom they had "looked" so far in vain under John's preaching. By omitting "at hand," this difficulty disappears. Lastly, the awkward inference might be drawn from Mark and Matthew by the supposed Johannine disputant, that Jesus withdrew into Galilee *because* John got into trouble with the authorities in the region of the lower Jordan. Luke avoids this by his silence, while the Fourth Gospel substitutes two quite different reasons for Jesus' departure into Galilee. According to the first of these, Jesus apparently desired to leave the "decreasing" John a clear field (John 4:1). However, as mentioned above, this introduces a new awkwardness in the shape of independent competition by John. The other assigned reason is that much greater success is always to be anticipated when one leaves "his own country" (that is, in this case, Judea. Contrast with this Matt. 13:54-58; Mark 6:1-6; Luke 4:16-30, where *Galilee itself*, and specifically Nazareth, is his "own country!").

On the one hand, Matthew *interprets* the baptism.⁴⁹ "Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to the Jordan unto John to be baptized of him. But John would have hindered him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? But Jesus answering, said, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him."

Now it is clearly implied in this conversation that John recognized Jesus as the Messiah. But, as we have seen, such a recognition is in conflict with all of the subsequent conduct of John and of his disciples, and cannot be considered historic. As suggested above, it looks very much as if some outsider, *since Mark's time*, had raised the awkward question whether after all Jesus had not begun his ministry as one of John's converts, and as if this was the answer to the charge. Whether it is or not, the awkward implications of Mark's narrative are set aside most effectively. It is no longer possible to think of John as the prophetic master, baptizing a convert. He acknowledges his inferiority to Jesus as Messiah, and performs the act after protest, at the command of his superior. And Jesus appears to submit himself to the act as if it were merely one incident in what came afterward to be considered his great humiliation for righteousness' sake, the Kenosis.

An interesting illustration of the complications which arise during the growth of an idea is furnished in the circumstance that Matthew has to put this recognition *before the baptism*. This point, and the similar, though far more advanced one, which appears in the nativity chapters of Luke,⁵⁰ where it appears that John's recognition of Jesus occurred before either of them was born, are flatly contradicted in the Fourth Gospel. The writer of this gospel is emphasizing the evidential value of the Dove as a "sign" and is showing that the Dove descended, not for Jesus' assurance, as in Luke,⁵¹ still less for Jesus' transformation, as in Mark,⁵² but for information *to the Baptist*. So John⁵³ says that he did *not* know who Jesus was until the Dove descended upon him. He knew him then because this sign had been

⁴⁹ Matt. 3:13-15.

⁵⁰ Luke 1:41-44.

⁵¹ Luke 3:22. In the Fourth Gospel Jesus has always been the Son of God, and has always known it.

⁵² Mark 1:11.

⁵³ John 1:31-34.

divinely arranged with himself in advance. Inasmuch as Matthew agrees with Mark and Luke⁵⁴ that the Dove came *after* the baptism, the situation is strained.

However, Matthew's addition to the story of the baptism is precisely the sort of thing which was bound to come, if the story was to be kept in circulation at all. So the series Mark-Matthew represents the use of interpretation as a method of avoiding the difficulty.

The method of elimination may be seen in progress in Luke and the Fourth Gospel. Luke crowds the baptism into a dependent clause, while he hurries on to matters which are more useful. "Now it came to pass, when all the people were baptized, *that*, Jesus also having been baptized and praying, *the heaven was opened*," etc. The baptism appears no longer as an event interesting in itself, as in Mark, nor is special attention called to it, by interpretation, as in Matthew. In Luke, attention is called away from it, and is focused upon what follows.

If in Luke the baptism is already going, in the Fourth Gospel it has gone. Still, if one may say so, it has only just gone! The place where it sank has not yet closed over. In reading John 1:19-34, it is interesting to notice how continuously expectant one is of coming upon the baptism, until "the morrow" in vs. 35, when it is too late. Even then one feels that it surely must have been there, until a second reading convinces of the contrary.⁵⁵ So the series Mark-Luke-John is an instance of the employment of elimination as a means of avoiding a stumbling-block.

SUMMARY

All of the New Testament data of any importance for the proper understanding of the Baptist having now been canvassed, it remains only to summarize the results, as follows:

1. The writers of the four gospels and of the Acts were unanimous in the conviction that John was the forerunner of the Messiah. Jesus

⁵⁴ Luke 3:21.

⁵⁵ One feels nothing of the sort regarding the "Temptation" or regarding the "Agony in the garden" both of which are even more inconsistent with the thesis of the Fourth Gospel (John 20:31) than the baptism is. Their absence is not noticed at all as one reads. The context has, as it were, become accustomed to their absence, especially to that of the "Temptation," for which there is not even opportunity in the narrative.

asserted the same in powerful language. And it is abundantly evident that John so considered himself.

2. The impression which John's propaganda made was a profound one, both during the life of Jesus and long afterward—in fact, during the whole period covered by the composition of the gospels. So profound was it indeed, that Jesus' own doings and sayings were felt to be satisfactorily accounted for by the spontaneous and natural assumption that John had risen from the dead, and that Jesus was he.

3. Neither John nor his disciples regarded *Jesus* as the Messiah. They remained to the end quite independent of Jesus and of the Christian community. The only known exceptions to this statement are Apollos and "about a dozen" others, who were converted to Christianity at Ephesus, during Paul's third missionary journey.

4. Such a situation was very embarrassing to the followers of Jesus, and the gospel writers reveal the fact by the manner in which they deal with it.

5. As time passed, and one writer after another recast the materials supplied by the primitive tradition, three processes were effectively employed to reverse the relations between John and Jesus, so that "the first (in time and in reputation) became last, and the last, first." The earliest of these processes consisted in appropriating the sayings of John concerning a Messiah, whom he and his followers "looked for" in vain, and in applying them to Jesus. This is complete even in Mark. The penalty for it lies in the circumstance that the simple and natural consistency between John's words, when taken in their original signification, on the one hand, and his conduct on the other, is thus changed into glaring inconsistency.

In the next place, the awkward facts in John's conduct are gradually suppressed. How far this has already gone in Mark it would be difficult to say, until we have a gospel which is surely older than his. From Mark onward the process is easy to follow, and is all but complete in the Fourth Gospel.

Lastly—and this feature is particularly characteristic of the Fourth Gospel—new sayings and acts are ascribed to John which make him a conscious "witness" to the messiahship of *Jesus*.

Thus there is an approach to consistency again between the acts

and the words of John, but this consistency is gained at the expense of badly strained relations between the earliest gospel and the latest one.

6. How far these processes are to be ascribed to the conscious intention of the gospel writers and thus represent an attempt to mold the faith of the Christian community, and how far they are merely the result of the natural development of tradition in the Christian community itself, whose growing belief the gospel writers merely follow, would be an interesting subject of inquiry.

The attitude of Jesus himself in this whole matter has been left practically untouched, except as regards his glowing testimony to the exalted character and mission of John as the forerunner of a Messiah. Whether Jesus looked upon himself as that Messiah, and therefore considered John to be his own personal forerunner, is a question whose scope would take us far beyond the limits set by the title of the present paper.

THE RELIGIOUS STATUS OF WOMAN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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Perhaps in no sphere of life has the subordination of woman so perpetuated itself as in matters ecclesiastic. Especially adapted by nature to discern the group consciousness and to reflect it, her position in the conservative traditions of the church has been one of intellectual and religious subordination. Indeed, the claim has recently been made that religion was, originally, an affair of man alone, woman having no part in sacrifice or ritual. Two sets of facts bear upon this problem to the consideration of which this study is directed.

It is true that among certain peoples, like the central Australian tribes, woman was denied all participation in the sacred ceremonies, even to the degree implied by passive observation. There was a ceremony of the blowing of a shell, called the bull-roarer, which was interpreted as the voice of a spirit ancestor and when performed kept the women in orderly subjection.¹ She who became skeptical or too knowing among the women was put to death, a measure drastic for the new woman even of that day. This disability of woman receives general confirmation in the Semitic field from the ritualistic uncleannesses cited in the Old Testament and Babylonian texts.² The animistic conception to which tabu in woman is traceable also led to the deification of femininity in the person of the goddess Istar. Common to the Semitic peoples before their separation, she was the most universally worshiped of all Semitic divinities. Under the various names of Istar, Ashtart, Athtar, Atar, Ashtoreth, her cult is found in Babylonia, Assyria, Abyssinia, Syria, Palestine, Cypress, Malta, Sicily, and Carthage.³ The condition of her birth was a pastoral and semi-agricultural life in which the cultivation of the date

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *The Central Australian Tribes*.

² For tabus on women see R. Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 116 ff.

³ George Aaron Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, 83.

palm played an important part.⁴ The earth and water as the source of life, the unique function of woman in agriculture, the presence of sex in the sacred date palm would ascribe practical values to the cult of such a goddess. Istar is the great mother of mankind, the source of fertility in the animal and vegetable world.⁵ Whether Istar was the first Semitic divinity, indicative of the institution of maternal kinship,⁶ and whether the beginnings of Semitic religion were conceived by the Semites themselves to have been wrapped up with this instinct⁷ are questions indirectly related to our problem. In any case the worship of the goddess testifies to the vital connection of woman with the primitive Semitic cultus. As the tutelary divinity of a city, the giver of prosperity and fertility, and the protectress against the demons of disease, Istar became also the champion against the enemy,⁸ the goddess of war in Assyria. Many hymns have been recovered which appeal to the goddess for help in all these capacities and which voice some of the highest religious and ethical thoughts attained by the Babylonians.⁹

Two facts may be stated with assurance concerning the cult of this goddess. There is an undoubted connection of Istar with the "wailing for Tammuz" as shown in the Babylonian myth the "Descent of Istar." Whatever the original significance of this ceremony may have been, it came to symbolize a wailing for the dying vegetation followed by a wild rejoicing for the reappearance of Tammuz, symbolizing the awakening of vegetation to life in the spring. Prominent among the forms under which the joy manifested itself was probably a sale of chastity as reported by Herodotus and Lucian, the Syrian.¹⁰ The second well-attested fact is the presence of women attached to the temple. "The offering of the body in honor of the deity prevailed widely in northern Semitic religions. . . . It was a religious act, accompanied by sacrifice (Hos. 4:13); the hire was

⁴ G. A. Barton, *op. cit.*, 119.

⁵ Morris Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*.

⁶ Barton, *op. cit.*, 82, 84, 322.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 106, 321.

⁸ George F. Moore, *Encyclopedia Biblica*, art. "Ashtoreth"; cf. Barton, *op. cit.*, 149.

⁹ Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

¹⁰ Herodotus, i, 199; Strabo, xvi, 745; Baruch 6:41 f.; Lucian, *Dea Syria*, 6.

sacred and brought into the treasury of the god (Deut. 23:19)."¹¹ The Code of Hammurabi indicates the existence of classes among these women as among the priests. Ninan was a priestess, living a chaste life in a convent, shielded as a lady from every breath of slander. Zirtu, the temple girl, may have been the *kedeshah* of the Old Testament. The official position of the Nersega is unknown. The priestess had both commercial rights and the rights of inheritance, sharing in this the independent position of the legal wife. Entering the business world by means of her dowry (§§ 178, 179), she exercised great business activity as shown by the existence of documents extending from the period of the later kings back to the time of Abil-Sin.¹² In one case, her resources reached a total of 329 head of cattle.¹³ This freedom of achievement in the commercial and religious sphere is a unique characteristic of the Babylonian woman. Corruptions doubtless arose under the Greek influence, changing the character of Istar and bringing her devotees into disrepute.

As the giver of oracles, woman plays an important part in Babylonia and Assyria¹⁴ as she did later in Greece. Prophetesses are mentioned in the texts of Gudea¹⁵ and in connection with the oracles of Arbela.¹⁶ When divination was elaborated and systematized by the priests, woman's connection therewith became unofficial and popular. This may have established a closer relation between woman as the possessor of a mysterious power and the demons of disease and misfortune. To her was assigned the evil rôle of witch or sorceress frequently mentioned in magical incantation, the number surpassing that of the wizard or the sorcerer. The same might be said for the "wailing women" mentioned in the Gudean text as a priestly class but who later performed a popular service versus the ritualistic one done by the priest. All this points to the early exercise of the priestly function by the Babylonian women.

¹¹ G. F. Moore, *Enc. Bib.*, art. "Idolatry."

¹² Kohler and Peiser, *Hammurabis Gesetz*, II, 224 ff.

¹³ D. D. Luckenbill, "The Temple Documents in Cassite Period," *A.J.S.L.*, 1907, XXIII, 302, 305, 316.

¹⁴ Jastrow, *op. cit.*, 660.

¹⁵ *Records of Past*, new series, I, 42; II, 78.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 129 f.

The actual exercise of the function of sacrifice by a woman has not been found. In consideration of the fact that the sacrifices recorded are public ceremonials for the welfare of the state or for the king as representative of the state, this is not surprising. A clay tablet from Nippur records the adoption of a girl by a woman in order that she might pour a libation over the woman's body when dead. Definite offerings of vegetables, lambs, and libations were made to Istar and to other goddesses.

Thus, woman was not regarded in Babylonia and Assyria as "excrescences or parasites upon the body politic"; on the contrary she was esteemed so vital to the prosperity and morale of the community that she became the center of an elaborate worship with offerings, oracles, and magical incantations. She was found in all the cultic positions but one; which exception may have been due to the public character of the act. Then, as now, she kept the groupal religious consciousness aglow at the altar of the sanctuary.

Turning from the Babylonian Semites to those in Palestine, we find the great Semitic goddess and her worship matters of common knowledge to Israel. The Old Testament records the fact that the Philistines had triumphantly deposited Saul's armor in a "house of Ashtaroth" (I Sam. 31:10). It mentions Ashtaroth Karnaim (Gen. 14:5) and Be'esterah (Josh. 21:27) of Bashan, cities probably named after the tutelary divinity. The Moabite Stone recounts how Mesha devoted the Israelite prisoners to Ashtar-Chemosh. Solomon built a sanctuary for the Phoenician Ashtoreth (I Kings 11:5, 33), destroyed three centuries later by Josiah (II Kings 23:13). The worship of Baal and Astarte by the side of Jehovah may have been implied by the international relations with Phoenicia, Moab, and Ammon (I Kings, chap. 11). The heathen gods and goddesses are popularly known in the seventh century as the Baal and Ashtaroth (Judg. 2:13; 10:6; I Sam. 7:3, 4; 12:10). Jeremiah notes the worship of the queen of heaven among the Judeans (Jer. 7:18). Isaiah speaks of the "planting of Adonis" (Isa. 17:10 f.), Adonis being another name for the Babylonian Tammuz. Ezekiel pictures the "gate of the Lord's house . . . where, behold, there sat the women weeping for Tammuz" (Ezek. 8:14). Tamar wore the dress of a kedeshah (Gen. 38:21 ff.). The kedeshoth were connected with the worship of

Baal-peor (Num. 25:1-5; cf. Hos. 9:10). They infected the worship of Jehovah (I Sam. 2:22; Exod. 38:8; Hos. 4:13, 18; Amos 2:7), their gains swelled the revenues of the temple (Mic. 1:7; Deut. 23:19), and they became the object of special legislation in the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 17:2-5; 22:5; 23:18).

Not only was the Semitic mother-goddess and her cult popularly known and adopted in Israel, but the contagious religious zeal of the native women for the native cult enforced the point of many a prophetic warning. On this ground the Israelite youths are warned off from Canaanite lasses, lest marriage be a source of corruption in worship (Exod. 34:16; Deut. 7:4; Judg. 3:5 f.; Josh. 23:12). Even the king was not exempt from this blighting influence: "For it came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods" (I Kings 11:4). Ruth was a proselyte but cited as a great exception to the rule. The clever and religious Jezebel is anathematized because of her proselyting zeal in behalf of a rival and debasing cult (I Kings 16:31 ff.; 18:4, 13, 19; 19:2; II Kings 9:22 f.). Her daughter Athaliah displayed the same unholy activity in Judea (II Kings 8:27; II Chron. 21:6; 22:2 f.; 24:7). Even the zeal of the Hebrew women for foreign cults is reflected in the Old Testament. Maacah, the queen-mother, was deposed by her son Asa, because she made "an abominable image for an Asherah," perhaps an image of Istar (I Kings 15:13). Jeremiah berates the Hebrew women that "the children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire and the women knead the dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods" (Jer. 7:18; 44:15-20), and that most shocking enormity of the Canaanite cult, causing the son and the daughter to pass through the fire of Molech, was practiced among the Israelites (Lev. 18:21; II Kings 16:3; 23:10; Jer. 7:31); whether in the presence of the mother as Plutarch relates of the Carthaginians cannot be ascertained.¹⁷ Such incidental touches reveal the popular belief and practice versus the ecclesiastical and formal side of the cult. Here the women show that religious consciousness characteristic of them, a loyalty and self-surrender in worship, corrupt and mistaken though it be.

¹⁷ Plutarch, *De superstitione*, chap. 13.

Is it possible that Israel estopped the natural outflow of religious interest in woman, that the Yahwe-cult and the Yahwe religion were in reality an affair of men, as Smend, Wellhausen, and Stade suggest? Let us consider the evidence afforded in the Old Testament as to woman's share: first, in the religious acts of the community; and second, in the official functions at the sanctuary. First, then, might a woman be a Nazarite? Women did make vows in early Israel as proven by Hannah who appeared as a responsible individual to make her vow at Shiloh, her husband disappearing completely into the background (I Sam. 1:11, 24 f.). Vowing was an ordinary method of pleasing God and allowed the greatest variety both as to the extent of time covered by the vow and as to its content. A vow might imply services to be performed or certain abstinences to be practiced as exemplified in Jephthah's vow and Saul's tabu of food. To avoid domestic or social conflict, a right of veto over a woman's vow was vested, in later times, in her father or husband. A widow or divorced woman, having a looser social connection, was exempted from this veto (Num., chap. 30). This plainly aimed at the social content of the vow and not at the right of utterance. In this respect, the cult knew no distinction between man and woman. That is, woman, *per se*, was competent to make vows as also the law concerning their redemption would indicate (Lev. 27:2 f.). The vow of a Nazarite was an especial kind of a *vow*,¹⁸ characteristic of the consecration of a person to the service of Yahwe.¹⁹ As a vow, it might be permanent or temporary. Samuel was consecrated to Yahwe Zebaoth at Shiloh (I Sam., chap. 1) and Samson was vowed to take vengeance upon the Philistines (Judg. 13:5). Both vows were taken for life. The Nazarite vow implied, also, certain tabus incident to the state of consecration, the tabu of wine and every product of the vine, and defilement by contact with the dead. "From the moment of consecration, the hair was consecrated and inviolable."²⁰ At the termination of the vow, it was offered at the altar. It is possible that "the primitive

¹⁸ Wellhausen, *Heidenthums*, II, 143; Smend, I, 153.

¹⁹ נָזַר and Arabic نَزَرَ both mean "to consecrate." The Arabic has but one root; Hebrew and Syriac have two: נָזַר "to vow" and נָזִיר "a consecrated person." See W. R. Smith, *Religion of Semites*, II, 483. The Syriac נִזִּיר is applied to maidens consecrated to the service of Belthis.

²⁰ G. F. Moore, *Judges*, in *loc.*

content of the vow was the sacrifice of this consecrated hair."²¹ In the early period of the Old Testament, however, the vow of the Nazarite implied some social service.²² In this sense, his consecration ranked with that of the prophet (Amos 2:11, 12). Especially was this true of the new significance given to the נָזִיר and his tabus in the prophetic reaction against Canaanite civilization and Baalism. In post-exilic times, as the priest assumed more and more the rôle of "the consecrated" in Israel, the vow of the Nazarite became an ascetic practice of temporary character to be performed by man or woman at any time²³ (Num. 6:2 ff.). This law fixed in Judaism the duration of the vow as thirty days (cf. Acts 21:23). Was this application to woman an original variation with P, the author of Num., chap. 6? This is not an isolated question. It can be answered only in accordance with the method used by P in the formulation of other laws. In general it may be said that P strengthens old customs into detailed law (cf. the ordeal, Num., chap. 5), and develops all ritualistic laws with greater elaboration and stringency.²⁴ Thus he emphasizes the ascetic features of the Nazarite vow until it approaches the consecration of the highpriest (Num. 6:7; cf. Lev. 21:1 f., 11 f.) and elaborates the offering at the termination of the vow (Num. 6:13 f.). Moreover, P cannot be accused of any special leaning toward woman. He excludes the women of the priestly families from sharing the meal of the most holy offerings (Lev. 6:18, 29; 7:1, 6; Num. 18:9, 10), and places a lower estimation upon woman in general (Lev. 27:2 f.). In consideration of this exaltation of the cult and this growing depreciation of woman, there is every probability that the inclusion of "woman" (Num. 6:1) is due to the fact that she actually did take upon herself the vow of the Nazarite in the early period of the Old Testament. This is corroborated by her right of making vows in general and by her right to become, like man, a consecrated devotee at the sanctuary. If, then, she might be a Nazarite, she might also complete her vow by the performance of the ritualistic acts prescribed at the termination of the vow, including

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Cf. Smend, *Consecration in War*, 154.

²³ Baentsch, *Commentary on Numbers*, 6.

²⁴ See Carpenter and Battersly, *The Hexateuch*.

the cutting of the hair.²⁵ Nay! according to Hubert and Mauss²⁶ she must present the prescribed offerings, since release from sanctity is conferred through sacrifice, making a return to profane life safe and possible (Num. 6:19, 20).

The prophet in Israel was one of the earliest manifestations of the spirit of Yahwe, more continuous than that of the hero, more personal than that of the priest.²⁷ Woman appears as a prophetess in the various stages marked in the development of this religious phenomenon.²⁸ At the very birth of Yahwism, Miriam stood by the side of Moses and Aaron. The Elohist writer calls her a prophet (Exod. 15:20). She led the dance of the women in the celebration of victory over the Egyptians (Exod., chap. 15), and she led the rebellion against Moses on account of the Cushite woman, his wife (Num. 12:1-5). This rebellion is ascribed by a later writer to a desire for equal prophetic rank with Moses and is used by him to differentiate between the earlier and the later prophets.²⁹ Moses' superior gift is that of direct inspiration from Yahwe as opposed to the cruder methods and phases of inspiration used by the earlier seer. Miriam was a prophetess of the earlier, cruder type. As such she was nearer the period when the functions of seer and priest were represented in the same individual as was done in Samuel.³⁰ Furthermore, if Hommel's contention be admitted, that the Minäean Lavi'u and Lawi'at are identical with the Hebrew Levi, it is possible that a priestess existed in ancient times in Israel.³¹ This may be the key to the significance of Miriam as the "sister" of Aaron and Moses (Exod. 15:20), a descendant of Levi (Num. 26:59; I Chron. 6:3), associated with

²⁵ The men of this period probably wore the long hair and beards characteristic of the portraits of the monuments (II Sam. 14:26; cf. Ezek. 44:20); the polling of a man's hair would thus be equivalent to the cutting of a woman's. A Buddhist priestess shaves her hair just as the Buddhist priests shave theirs and as the Catholic sisters do today.

²⁶ H. Hubert and M. Mauss, *Mélanges d'histoire des religions*, 78.

²⁷ Smend, *op. cit.*, I, 79.

²⁸ Max Löhr, *Die Stellung des Weibes zu Yahwe-Cult und Religion*, 40.

²⁹ Baentsch, *op. cit.*, 12.

³⁰ I. J. Peritz, "Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," *J.B.L.* (1898), 144.

³¹ Hommel, *Aufs. u. Abhdl.* (1897), 30 f.; T. Engert, *Ehe- u. Familienrecht der Hebräer*, 11.

Aaron in holy service at the tent of meeting (Num. 12:1, 2; 20:1).³² At any rate, she did advance the cause of Yahwism through her religious gifts and her service is recorded by her place in tradition (Micah 6:4).

A second representative of the primitive seer is Deborah (Judg., chap. 4). Impelled by the spirit of Yahwe, she fired her countrymen with the same enthusiasm for Yahwe and for battle, promising victory in his name. Professor Moore compares her to the German Velleda, and to Joan of Arc. She entered the field with the soldiers and gave the war-cry, signaling the beginning of the conflict (4:14).³³ Smend says: "It is not an inconsequential fact that a woman killed Sisera, thereby completing the victory." In tradition she is connected with the palm tree between Ramah and Bethel, where she spake judgment for the children of Israel (4:4, 5). This tradition may go back to some relation borne by Deborah to the oracle or to oracle-giving.

As Miriam contributed to the beginnings of Yahwism so Huldah, the prophetess, was an influential factor at a time of religious crisis and excitement. The point at issue was the cultus and the disestablishment of the local sanctuaries. The king requiring confirmation of the newly discovered law-book sends a priest and a committee of honorable government officials "to inquire of Yahwe." They come to Huldah, whose words of wisdom confirm the book and assure the religious development of the future (II Kings 22:12 ff.). Huldah's answer has all the earmarks of the prophet's as opposed to the earlier seer. "It performs an objective service for the national religion and the national god and, like later prophecy, it foretells the subjection of Israel."³⁴

The prophetess reappears during the time of Ezekiel as the caretaker of souls, whether in Jerusalem or in the Exile or in both places is not very clear (Ezek. 13:17-23). Smend names this as out of the later forms of prophecy. Again Noadja, known only by name, is an opponent of Nehemiah (Neh. 6:14) in the establishment of the new colony at Jerusalem. Thus there is a continuous chain of

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Moore, *Judges*, in *loc.*

³⁴ Smend, *op. cit.*, 79, 81.

prophetesses from the very beginning of Yahwism to the reorganization of its religious life on the old site, with expectation of a future outpouring of the spirit upon the daughters and handmaidens of Israel (Joel. 2:28 f.).³⁵ As bona fide prophets, Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah did carry forward the cause of Yahwism in Israel. They achieved an objective result recognizable in the community and engraven upon conservative tradition. Perhaps these prophetesses may have been more prominent in history than tradition was allowed to represent in an age characterized by man's dominance over women.³⁶

But it may be said, woman might be capable of all these services and yet have no right to participate directly in the cult. In the early Canaanite period, the daughters of Shiloh danced in the vintage festival to Yahwe (Judg. 21:19, 21, 23). Miriam and the daughter of Jephthah danced at the celebration of victory (Judg. 11:34; Exod. 15:20; I Sam. 18:6; cf. II Sam. 1:20), and the women of Israel danced at the religious festivities around Aaron's golden calf (Exod. 32:19; cf. Song of Songs 6:13). They were included in the festivals of the new moon and sabbaths (II Kings 4:23) as they were included in the rest upon the sabbath day (Exod. 34:21; cf. 20:10 f.; Deut. 5:14 f.) and as they were included among "the households" celebrating the Passover (Exod. 12:3, 4). The ancient law regulating the three agricultural feasts says: "Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord God, the God of Israel" (Exod. 34:23; 23:17; Deut. 16:16). Does this really exclude a woman from the feasts or is it a law, unfitted by its categorical form to apply to woman? It is manifest that attendance at the annual feasts must yield in woman's case to certain domestic duties and ritualistic tabus imperative upon her (Exod. 19:15; I Sam. 21:5 f.; II Sam. 11:11 f.; Lev. 12; 1-5; 15:19 f.; and Ezek. 36:17). For this reason the wife and mother were not listed with the daughter and the maidservant obligated by the Deuteronomist to keep these feasts (12:12, 18; 16:11, 14). In practice, woman freely attended as her responsibilities permitted, as shown by the classic example of Hannah (I Sam. 1:3 ff., 19, 22). Women are seen, also, at various kinds of

³⁵ Löhr, *op. cit.*, 41.

³⁶ So Smend on Miriam, *op. cit.*, 90.

religious festivals; at the removal of the ark to Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:19), at the offering upon the high places (Hos. 4:13; Jer. 31:4, 13; Lam. 1:4), at the daily evening sacrifice in the temple (Ezra 10:1), at the dedication of the walls (Neh. 12:43), and at the mourning for the dead (Jer. 16:6-8; 9:17; Zech. 12:11 f.). She was a participant in the sacrificial meal during the early period of Israel (I Sam. 1:4, 5; II Sam. 6:19; I Chron. 16:3) and at the later time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. 12:43). The women of the priestly household ate of the holy sacrifice; forbidden, as it was, to outsiders and hedged about by severe ritualistic restrictions (Lev. 10:12-15; 22:1-16; Num. 18:18, 19). That woman was not a mere idle spectator but that she, herself, presented sacrifices to Yahwe is evidenced by the share in the offering of Manoah taken by his wife, a share more important than that of an idle spectator of the household (Judg. 13:15-23; cf. I Sam. 2:19). The prophet Jeremiah rebukes the women of his day, not for assuming the prerogative of men in sacrificing, but for sacrificing "*unto other gods*."³⁷ Direct testimony to the sacrifices of woman is recorded in those made for purification (Lev. 12, 15:19-33; cf. Lev. 3:2; Ezek. 36:17). Moreover women consulted the oracle (Gen. 25:22 f.), were the subjects of theophanies (Gen. 3:13 ff.; 16:8 ff.; 18:9 f., 15; 21:17 ff.; Judg. 13:3 ff.), and performed oracular functions as familiar spirits or witches (I Sam. 28; Ezek. 13:17 ff.). The Deuteronomist makes woman responsible with man for the observance of "all the words of this law" (Deut. 29:10 ff.; 31:12; Jos. 8:35; cf. Neh. 8:2 f.; 10:29 f.) and she is obligated to keep herself from the worship of other gods under the same severe penalties (Deut. 13:7; 17:2, 5; Lev. 20:27; II Chron. 15:13; esp. Deut. 29:10 ff.).

Dr. Eduard Meyer, in his recent visit to our country, described some documents in the Berlin Museum taken from the ruins of a Jewish settlement at Elephantine, near Assuan, Egypt. One of these papyri records the names of members of the community, both men and women, who paid 70 cents each to the temple. This sum was divided into three parts: one-third went to יהוה, one third went to אשם, and one third went to ענת. This document, coming from either the fourth or fifth century B.C., testifies to the worship by Jews

³⁷ Peritz.

of a goddess Anath even so late as the Exile and also testifies to the payment of the temple tax by women.³⁸

But one may ask: Why, then, the emphasis upon the male animal in the sacrificial offerings? Why does circumcision play so important a part as a sign of the covenant with Yahwe? Why is the first-born son sacred to Yahwe? These questions must be answered in the light of the development of the Jewish ritual. The cow was offered in sacrifice by Abraham, by Samuel, and by David (Gen. 15:9; I Sam. 6:14; 16:2). The ashes of the red cow were used as a means of purification (Num., chap. 19); and it cost a city a cow to insure it against blood revenge in case a corpse was found within its borders (Deut., chap. 21). On the other hand, a male lamb was slain at the Passover, and a male for the burnt-offering (Lev. 1:3, 10; 22:19; Num. 7:15; II Sam. 24:22; II Chron. 29:32; Ezek. 46:4). The trespass offering was usually a ram (Lev. 5:15 f.; 6:6; 19:21 f.; Num. 5:8; Ezra 10:19). The sin-offering varies with the importance of the ceremony, being a bullock for an anointed priest or for the nation, a he-goat for a prince or ruler, and a female for a private individual (Lev. 4:3-32; 5:6; Num. 6:14). The peace-offering, however, might be either a male or a female (Lev. 3:1, 6; Mal. 1:14). Thus the female offering is not forbidden and is found at every stage of ritualistic development, yet it is superseded in the more important and public ceremonies by the male. The motive for this change cannot be found in the herdsman's calling. It is due rather to the gradual change in the public attitude toward the sex. Circumcision won an entirely different meaning in Israel after the Exile. In spite of the fact that it was a tribal custom practiced from primitive times, slight religious significance was given it until that period. Then it became a symbol of separation from other religious communities and a mark of special ritualistic rank.³⁹

Ancestor-worship has been regarded by certain eminent scholars as an important factor in the development of family solidarity among

³⁸ In the colony of Assuan, "woman is practically on an equality with man in buying, selling, and transmitting property. This consideration for woman is far in advance of anything contemplated by the Old Testament. It is significant of the susceptibility of the Jews to environment."—J. M. P. Smith in *Biblical World*, XXXI, 455.

³⁹ Löhr, *op. cit.*, 51 f.

the Israelites. For this reason, the rights of the first-born son to become the heir of his father as ruler over his brethren, owner of the community property, priest, judge, and blood-avenger are simply an extension of the duty of the first-born son to perform the ancestral rites for the dead. For this reason, also, the passionate longing for a son finds its ready explanation. It is the natural desire for remembrance after death intensified by the activities and feeling incident to a long-established cultus. Hence the first-born son holds a peculiarly sacred position in the cult and woman is excluded as incompetent. Now this is not the place to discuss the existence of ancestor-worship in Israel. We would reverse the process and say that the solidarity of the family connects up closely with the practical problems of life incident to their environment on the Arabian steppes and that this practical life determined their conceptions. The same social influences which formed the patriarchal community also developed the rights of the first-born. The two are the product of the same environment. Among the hill tribes of India, where the enlarged family to the number of some fifty or seventy-five persons live under the same roof, the rule of the eldest brother is protected by customs grown from the environment that developed the community form of life. The right of the first-born probably goes back to a magical relationship existent between the father and his first-born. "Reuben, thou art my first-born, my might and the beginning of my strength" (Gen. 49:3). This material, mysterious, easily recognizable strength is the "blessing" which works magically for its possessor and which contains rooted within itself the tabu of the first-born, his sacredness to Yahwe. The old law reads, "Sanctify unto me all the first-born, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of men and beast: it is mine" (Exod. 13:2). Whether this feeling ever characterized the first-born regardless of sex, it is impossible to say (Ezek. 20:26; cf. Jer. 7:31). Too dangerous for common life, the first-born was given to Yahwe to be redeemed or to gain a substitution in later times by the consecration of the Levite (Num. 8:18). But they who believe in ancestor-worship find evidence of its existence in the Levirate marriage. This is ascribing great significance to a form of adoption explicable upon simpler grounds. The Levirate marriage sets forth the solidarity of the family under the rule of the

eldest. It could only exist among brothers living together when the marriage tie but not the family bond had been broken. In its oldest form, it is the right of the heir to the wife of the testator without the payment of a bride-price. Tamar still belongs under the jurisdiction of Judah although at the time of the incident she seems to have been with her own people. A feeling that the childless dead had a proxy right in the widow might have given rise to the duty of the first-born son to continue the name of the dead. This feeling would be reinforced among a people given to war, by the importance of continuing every branch of the family tree. When, under the changed conditions of life, the enlarged family ceased to exist, the custom lapsed (Deut. 25:7 ff.) and was finally forbidden by law (Lev. 20:21).⁴⁰ To disqualify woman for participation in the Yahwe-cult on the ground that the inheritance of the first-born developed out of ancestor-worship is to disregard the *practices* of Yahwism for an unproven theory concerning its origin.

Ideas and laws, social usages and religious practices are the product of the national life and are only intelligible in connection therewith. In harmony with the animistic conception of woman, a goddess became an object of worship in Israel and woman served at the sanctuary (Exod. 38:8; I Sam. 2:22). During the prophetic period, the problems of life which pressed hardest upon the nation were no longer those connected with an animistic view of nature. The problems vital for national life then became those touching commercial and social conduct. The impassioned words of Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah ring with the enthusiasm of new values and the claim of new spiritual and fundamental necessities. A prophetic movement for the purification of Yahwe-worship began, directed particularly against the Baal and Ashtaroth and the kedeshah serving at the sanctuaries. It was a movement in the interest of public morality. But it reacted against woman, sweeping away her last independent stand and possibility of a career. The Babylonian woman was a factor in the business life of the community and wielded a great religious influence. But in Judaism appears the mental attitude consequent upon the long years of social and practical dependence of woman. She is removed by the Levitical law from

⁴⁰ For a full discussion, see Sigismund Rasch, *Hebräische Familienrecht*, 39.

the temple choruses (Neh. 7:67; Ezra 2:65). She can no longer eat the "most holy offering" (Lev. 6:18, 29; 7:6); and "a court of the women" is established in Herod's temple. The Mishna forbids woman the reading of the Shema and the right to lay her hand upon the sacred offering. This attitude of mind toward woman culminates in her moral and intellectual depreciation. She was considered naturally more vicious, more addicted to envy, discontent, evil-speaking, and wantonness, than man. Especially severe in their criticisms are the later canonical and apocryphal writers, the author of Proverbs, the preacher, and Jesus Sirach.

Thus by means of his mastery over woman within the domestic, the social, and the economic environments, man made the church also his own domain. The whole Jewish world then belonged to man, woman was expelled therefrom, without rights, duties, or possibility of achievement. This was a religious reaction characteristic of Judaism and not found in the earlier Israelite period. It was a reaction under which woman suffered until a new impulse to her valuation was given by Grecian civilization and thought.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD¹

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So elaborate and persistent has been the study of the term "kingdom of God (or heaven)" during the past few years that we may be said to be reaching the limit of our positive knowledge concerning the history of the concept which it expresses. There is and probably will continue to be a different emphasis laid by different interpreters upon different aspects of its meaning, but it cannot be far from accurate to say that all available material that has come over from the New Testament times has been used in this investigation. It is possible now to shape up the results of the study with some accuracy, although as has been intimated, such a summary is certain to be marked by the personal equation of the summarizer.

First of all it is necessary to distinguish between the study of a word and that of an elaborated concept of which the word expresses only one phase. Philology and word-study must here be supplemented by the general study of the social mind as it shaped the hopes of the time of Christ. In such a study it becomes at once evident that the idea of God's rule over mankind never ceased to be a political conception. God's sovereignty was to be embodied in his kingdom, and this kingdom was to be composed of Jews. The courage, one might almost say the audacity, of such expectation becomes all the more marked when one recalls that the Jews never were a world-power, and that the moments of most intense hope for imperial sway were moments of the deepest oppression. Deutero-Isaiah, the Enoch literature, the Psalms of Solomon, the apocalypses of the first Christian century were all the outgrowth of supreme national misery. This confidence of the Jews in their glorious future is what is commonly called the Messianic Hope, but the idea of the personal Messiah who had been empowered to perform this work of natural

¹ This study covers the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for June 12, 19, 26, July 3 and 10.

salvation was not always present in the hope. The fundamental conception was that Jehovah, the God of the Jews, as the only true God, must inevitably triumph over his enemies and bring to triumph over its enemies the one people who thoroughly served him. It makes small difference that the term "kingdom of God" almost never appears in the pre-Christian writings of Judaism; the concept of the rule of Jehovah first over a re-established Jewish nation, and then through it over all the world, was the inspiration of an entire people.

Such a world-wide triumph of God and of God's people the Pharisees ceased to expect from the ordinary processes of statecraft. They looked for a miracle and in proportion as miracle seemed the only means of fulfilling their hope did their conception of the kingdom of God grow more transcendental. True, it never became identical with what Christians have called heaven, but it was increasingly believed to possess supernatural elements. It was not to be established by war, but by the word of the mouth of the Christ.

In studying the teaching of Jesus concerning the kingdom of God everything depends upon remembering that he seized upon this conception of his people. He no more invented the fundamental content of the term than he invented the term itself. What he did do was to start with the expectation of the kingdom which God would establish in the future and show both its true nature and the prerequisites for its membership. The group of passages which are to be studied by the Sunday schools during the month of June are characteristic examples of his teaching as regards both method and content.

I. THE EXTENSION OF THE BLESSINGS OF THE KINGDOM TO
GENTILES: MATT., CHAP. 15

Did Jesus originally expect that others than Jews would become members of the kingdom of God? Any answer to this question must be by implication rather than from expressed statement. Jesus nowhere says explicitly that he would continue the ethnic expectation of his people, yet, because of our inability to locate with chronological precision the times in which his various sayings were uttered, it has of late been discussed as to whether there might not have been in his mind a development from the ethnic to the universal conception. The first interpretation of his words would seem to indicate that he expected

his first followers to come from Jews, and that, as appears in his directions to the Twelve, he expected that their first mission would be to them. The exclusion of gentiles and Samaritans from their mission can be explained, however, as a practical expedient. At the time the disciples first went on their preaching tour they certainly lacked any catholic conception of the extent of the gospel, and further than that, the Jews offered the nearest and the logical point of contact. According to the Synoptics, also, Jesus at the start limited his own activities to his own people. There came a time, however, when circumstances forced him to face the problem of the extension of his work to gentiles. And this it is possible for us to locate with accuracy.

After his rejection by the Pharisees and the leaders of his people, and particularly after the conspiracy to put him out of the way, he found himself forced to leave Galilee and go out into the gentile territory to the north and west. It is hardly to be questioned that in this journey he was primarily interested in withdrawing his disciples from the antagonism and controversies which his success in Galilee had engendered in order that he might teach them more fully. But Syrophenicia abounded with Jews and his fame had extended to them and through them to the gentiles. As Mark graphically states, he could not be hid (Mark 7:24). It was on this journey that the problem of his relations to the non-Jewish world reached a crisis. The occasion was a woman's wit and a mother's love.

In the episode there are several points worthy of special attention. In the first place we see Jesus facing the question as to the practicability of extending his mission at that moment beyond the Jews. With the request of the Canaanitish woman that he should cure her daughter Jesus for the first time actually faced this issue. The account in Matthew is more vivid than that in Mark for it represents the woman as attributing to Jesus the messianic title, "the Son of David." This, however, is only one of the variations in the accounts in the first and second gospels. So different are these accounts that it is difficult to believe that the Matthew form is a rewriting of Mark's. It seems more like an independent account of the same event. But in both gospels there are the same elements of fact. Matthew particularly emphasizes Jesus' first refusal to work the cure in the statement, "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the House of Israel."

The eloquent plea of the woman: "Lord, help me," however, brought to bear upon him the supreme motive of his life. The reply of the woman relative to the right of dogs to have at least the crumbs which fall from the family table gave the occasion. It was not a case of being bettered in repartee by the woman, unique as this is in the life of Jesus, which led to his helping her. It was rather the appeal of love. His mission up to that moment had been wisely limited to the Jews, and, according to John, to Samaritans, but here was the woman actually before him pleading for help which the spirit of love could not forbear giving. The method yielded to the aim of his life, and he cured the woman's daughter.

The significance of this act on the part of Jesus is to be still further appreciated from Matt. 15:29-31, as compared with Mark 7:31-37. After leaving Syrophoenicia he passed around to the north of the Sea of Galilee, then over to Decapolis, where he healed many persons. The significance of this account seems to be pointed out in Matt. 15:31, "They glorified the God of Israel." The simplest interpretation of this unusual phrase would seem to be that the gentiles of Decapolis, seeing the gracious work of the Jew, attributed praise to the God of the Jews. If this be a fair interpretation of the passage it would seem hardly too much to say that in his meeting with the gentile woman of Syrophoenicia Jesus saw an opportunity to disclose his realization of the universality of his ministry or at least of the timeliness of such a wide mission, for from that time he devoted himself with less reserve to the preaching of the kingdom as a blessing intended for men of all nationalities.

II. THE KINGDOM OF GOD AS SET FORTH IN PARABLES

The thirteenth chapter of Matthew contains a group of parables dealing with the different aspects of the kingdom. The topics they treat might be stated in the following fashion:

1. 13:1-9: Explanation of the fact that different results come from the preaching of the gospel.
2. Vss. 24-30: The ultimate triumph of the kingdom over all opposing forces.
3. Vss. 31-33: The magnificent completion of the kingdom despite the small beginnings of its announcement.

4. Vss. 44-46: The supreme value of the kingdom as a justification of sacrifice in its behalf.

5. Vss. 47-50: The separation of those who are true members of the kingdom from those who have joined it hypocritically.

This collection of parables is all the more remarkable because in two cases Jesus attached to them his own interpretation. The student is thus able to discover Jesus' own conception of what a parable taught and also to discover in his interpretation a general principle which can be extended to other parables. This general principle very simple; namely: Interpret only such elements of an illustration or parable as actually contribute to the understanding of a dominant analogy which is set forth by the story itself.

1. *The parable of the Sower*.—In this exquisite little illustration Jesus seizes upon the obvious fact that the same seed sown in different sorts of soil produces different harvests. And this is the only lesson which Jesus would have the parable illustrate. Yet in order to make this lesson plain there are certain subsidiary lessons which explain why the preaching of the gospel has different results among different people and these subsidiary lessons are carried in the subsidiary and contributing elements of the story. One might, indeed, throw the lesson of the parable into a series of formal analogies: as seed sown on hard, beaten ground brings forth no harvest, so the word of the Kingdom has no effect upon the minds that give it no attention; as seed sown on thin soil over ledge soon springs up and just as soon withers because of lack of soil, so certain persons hear the word of the Kingdom and immediately respond, but the same over-quick reaction leads them to abandon the word when persecution arises; as seed sown in ground which is good but already preoccupied by thorns springs up but fails to come to fruitage because it is choked out by thorns, so the gospel in strong lives springs up but fails of real results because those lives are engrossed in business or other worldly concerns; and finally, as seed sown on good soil brings harvest but yet in some sort of proportion to the character of the soil, so the gospel in hearts that are ready to receive and follow it produce results although not always in the same measure.

Such teaching as this comes with real comfort to the Christian worker who has done his best and yet sees few results. It is as if

Jesus said to such a person, Do not be discouraged, much more do not abandon the gospel. It is not the fault of the word, but of the lives to whom the word comes. If the proper attention is given the gospel its results come inevitably, but such results cannot come when it is made secondary to any other interest or is in any other way treated indifferently or lightly.

2. *The parable of Delayed Judgment* (Matt. 13:24-30; 36-43).—The parable of the Wheat and the Tares is interpreted by Jesus. Here again one sees the economy in interpretation. The parable touches one of the most disturbing features of life, and its problem can be stated very simply: Shall the members of the kingdom undertake the violent punishment of the enemies of the kingdom? The parable, like some of the others of Jesus' is not from a literary point of view academically self-consistent. We should expect the children of the kingdom, or the good wheat, themselves to undertake the elimination of the tares, or evil men and institutions. But for Jesus to treat the matter in such fashion would have been to transform the parable into something like a fable. He keeps the essential issue before his disciples but prefers reality to absolutely literal consistency. The teaching of this parable is very simple. It is not centered upon any incidental matter like the similarity of the tares and the wheat, nor does it primarily emphasize the danger of injuring the wheat while pulling up the tares, important as that may be. The really significant teaching of the parable is that the desire to eliminate the enemies of the kingdom of God is to await the end of the age when God will himself establish his great assize and destroy whatever is hostile to his kingdom.

As regards such teaching so little pleasing to impatient Christians and at first glance so hostile to social reform, it must be said that Jesus was probably not thinking of social reform in the ordinary sense of the word. The question of the right of government to handle criminals and to punish those who in any way injure society was not in his mind. The real purpose of the parable is the inhibition of persecution. It is so easy for spiritual people to use unspiritual means for the establishment of truth that Jesus warned them to leave the punishment of the enemies of the kingdom to God himself. That punishment, he assured his disciples, is inevitable, although postponed,

and it will be one in which the relative position of the members of the kingdom and their enemies will be abundantly exhibited. In a certain sense the parable is a projection of Jesus' so-called teaching as to non-resistance, with the additional note of trust in the inevitable triumph of the righteous.

3. *The limitless growth of the kingdom* (Matt. 13:31-33).—Two beautiful parables are used by Jesus to set forth the thrilling fact that however small the kingdom might be in its inception, its triumph was to be limitless. Though in its beginning it was as small among organizations as the mustard seed was among all other seeds yet its end would be one of proportionate growth. This seems to be the simple trust enforced by this parable. Commentators have sometimes discovered truth of another sort in its sentences, even going so far as to describe the birds that nested on its branches as heretics. This, however, is obviously fanciful. It is useless to attempt any interpretation of the details of the parable beyond its great central thought of tremendous growth.

Similarly in the case of the yeast: the thought is still that the kingdom, although it has small beginnings, is to have a great ending, although the idea of the growth by transformation is, naturally, suggested by the yeast. The entire mass of meal was to be affected by the leaven. But it is unwise to push this conception exegetically. It is, of course, true that Christian men and women are to transform society, and in that sense it is, of course, true that the kingdom of God is to transform society. But it is difficult to show that Jesus conceived of the kingdom as anything other than an ultimate reality that God was to introduce. It would be possible to give the proper emphasis to the conception of development if we interpreted the parable as referring not so much to the kingdom itself as to the "word" of the kingdom. Although the response to it was at the start very small, yet so capable is the gospel of transforming mankind that ultimately the entire social order would become filled with its principles. This great hope would find its fullest completion in the coming of the kingdom, but until it came, men under the influence of the gospel would come increasingly to do God's will on earth as it is in heaven.

4. *The supreme value of the kingdom* (Matt. 13:44-46).—In these

two parables Jesus turns from agriculture to trading. In them he sets forth his philosophy of self-sacrifice. And this philosophy is simple and profound: It is wise and advantageous to sacrifice a poorer good for a supreme good. Jesus does not here argue that the kingdom is supreme; he assumes that and illustrates the degree of its supremacy. In both parables the emphasis is upon the thought that a man in trading gave up everything that he had in order to get a single article of supreme value. Thus the man who found the treasure hid in the field sold all that he had to buy the field with his treasure; the merchant who was seeking goodly pearls sold all that he had to buy the most perfect pearl he had ever seen. The wisdom of making such a bargain by which one gets something worth more than that which he gives up is the only point that ought to be pressed in these two parables. Incidentally, of course, it is true that in one case a man stumbles upon a treasure unexpectedly and in the other he found it after he searched for it. But such differences are merely the clothing of the teaching.

Regarding this group of teaching as something of a unit, we find that Jesus conceives of the blessing of the kingdom of God as not limited to the Jew; that the progress of the gospel is determined by the conditions under which and to whom it is preached; that there was none the less an unenviable distinction between those who accepted his principles and those who rejected them, and that this distinction will be made by God himself. Then as if to encourage his disciples he asserted that the slow progress of the gospel is no argument against its ultimate supreme good in all human experience.

As if to clarify still further his position, Jesus gives the parable of the fish-net. In this parable, as it were, he shows that the mere formal inclusion in the midst of the community of those who await the kingdom is no guarantee of enjoying the blessings of the kingdom. Just as the worthless fishes which have been drawn up in the great seine are picked up and thrown away, so the worthless members of the Christian community are to be similarly removed. It is a parable of warning against hypocrisy and self-complacency, and as such protected Jesus from the charge of excessive optimism.

Book Reviews

The Old Testament among Semitic Religions. By GEORGE RICKER BERRY. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1910. 215 pages. \$1.00 net.

Dr. Berry undertakes to determine "What features of the religious teachings or theology of the Old Testament are to be considered common to the Hebrews and some other nation or nations, and what features are distinctive." The task has some difficulties. Brief generalizations are always open to criticism, and Dr. Berry will receive some that he might have avoided. The scholar hardly needs such a comparative summary, and the "man in the street" might have been kept a little more in mind. The task is hampered, as the author recognizes, by the fragmentary character of our knowledge and the provisional nature of many conclusions, though he does not anticipate much radical alteration of them through increase of knowledge. But as we are just beginning to get hold of some types of literature (e.g., the prophetic) bulking largely in the Old Testament but descried hitherto but doubtfully on the literary horizon, so far as the remains of other Semitic peoples are concerned, modifications of view may be larger than now expected. "The man in the street" needs to be told that the comparison instituted is not a comparison between the whole genius and tendency of various peoples, but is a comparison of an anthology of protest, or radicalism, in one people, with the fragments of popular or conservative daily scribblings of others. The "man in the street" is in danger of being left with the impression also that many common Semitic usages condemned after a time by a few great Hebrew voices had no prominent place among the Hebrew people: for he is given to thinking of Old Testament sentiments as expressing the general intellectual and moral level of the primitive Hebrew. Further, the systematizing habits of the modern scholar present summaries that make the "man in the street" think of ancient Semites as possessing fairly well systematized theologies and philosophies: while the scholar knows that one cannot even use "the theology of the Old Testament" as an accurately descriptive expression.

Dr. Berry considers the views expressed upon "Divine Beings," "Man," and the "Future Life." The first topic is that likely to provoke most varying views. Recognizing animism as the earliest stage of Semitic religions, and the astral character of much of their development he excepts

tersely the religion of the Old Testament, a statement a little too brief and sweeping for those who think of final Judaic views as identical with Hebrew popular opinion. Considering nature gods, Dr. Berry does not find any particular type of natural phenomena prominently characteristic of the theophanies of the Old Testament. Most scholars will hardly accept this. Monotheism he finds dominantly characteristic of Hebrew thought—vaguely suggested in a few speculative tendencies elsewhere. But can we account for the rapid proselytism of the dispersion epoch without recognizing a much larger monotheistic tendency than our fragments of conservative Semitic literature reveal? The struggle over sacred cities and their rights in Assyria indicate very powerful voices of protest there, though we have not yet their literature. I think we shall one day recognize a greater approximation to the Hebrew level at that point than we now do. Proselytizing indicates that a select few of all peoples reached Jewish monotheism by varying routes and the Hebrew prophets assert that only a select few of their own people did so. Dr. Berry wisely remarks that mere monotheism does not give superiority to a religion: and he is correct in deciding that the evidence is against the theory of a widespread primitive Semitic monotheism, and that Semitic deities do not show any clearly defined spiritual character. He thinks that centralization of worship expressed the religious unity of the nation, rather than localization of Yahweh: a sharp contrast to other peoples. Possibly he does not estimate so seriously as some the fanatical confidence in the inviolability of Jerusalem. Eternity, omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence are predicated of Yahweh, though not in formal theological statement. This emphasizes, of course, final conceptions rather than early popular crudities. The ceremonial idea of his holiness Dr. Berry recognizes to bulk largely at first: but ethical completeness is the distinctive feature of Old Testament teaching concerning him.

Regarding man, Dr. Berry finds all Semitic religions conceding the universality of sin, without paralleling the Old Testament account of its origin. But the early Semitic conception of sin was ritualistic, non-ethical. Caprice determined largely the attitude of gods to men. Man's misfortunes because of ritualistic transgressions, come chiefly through the activity of demons no longer restrained by the gods. This conception of sin, prominent in the Old Testament, is opposed later by the prophetic ethical idea, some tendency to which Dr. Berry finds in Babylonia. He does not notice here the negative confession in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, and its significance in Egyptian religious thought. Salvation, in the modern Christian or popular sense, is not an Old Testament conception—but Dr.

Berry does not get this fact before the reader. Salvation through sacrifice is perhaps his fullest and most satisfactory chapter. Approving Robertson Smith, he finds time, circumstances, forms, and meanings of sacrifice much the same for all Semitic peoples: the Old Testament hardly showing distinctive features. Substitution is not shown. Sin-offerings in Israel are only for minor or unintentional transgressions: there are none for high-handed or major breaches of the moral code. But that this is unique among the Hebrews, I doubt; the civil penal codes of the various peoples would suggest that it was not. Salvation by incantation or magic he finds prominent in Babylonia, prohibited in Israel. Dr. Berry does not note here widespread Jewish practice, despite the prohibition. The Hebrew prophets' great theme of salvation through repentance he finds distinctive.

In eschatology Dr. Berry finds no parallel to Hebrew messianic ideas. The Hebrew Sheol is the counterpart of the Babylonian Arallu—there are no Egyptian traits about it. That the control of Yahweh "even in early times . . . extends even to Sheol" is hardly proven. Babylonian exorcisms, incantations, invocations of, or offerings to, spirits of the dead are unknown to the Old Testament or strictly forbidden. The spirit-world in Babylonia is not linked with ethical distinctions; and in the Book of the Dead welfare is determined by magical formulae rather than character. So the Old Testament shows no definite separation in the hereafter between righteous and wicked: but Dr. Berry finds a late modification by the hope that the righteous be not given to the power of Sheol, and by the teaching of a resurrection—first national, finally individual.

Concluding, Dr. Berry finds that all the lower and earlier Hebrew conceptions are, generally speaking, common Semitic possessions: all the higher ones, distinctive. The closest parallels are in ideas about salvation through sacrifice, and future life: the widest divergence in the ethical conceptions of God. He does not find the Hebrew people religious in a greater degree than other peoples—hence the higher ideals are not of human origin. This familiar argument is not quite thoroughgoing. Not greater intensity, but a different direction, is the Hebrew's peculiarity in religion. And our problem reads, Why should God make one people specialize in the speculative side of religion, another in its institutional side, another in its eschatological possibilities, another in its ethical side, and another in the secret of its dynamics, or spirituality?

ALLEN H. GODBEY

ST. LOUIS, MO.

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS

DRIVER, S. R. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* New ed. New York: Scribners, 1910. Pp. xxxvi+577. \$2.50.

After eighteen years of increasing favor, this standard introduction goes into its eighth edition. The changes made are not of a radical character; the substance of the book remains unchanged. The new material is chiefly in the addition of the more recent book-titles and in brief notices of the leading discoveries and new views propounded since the last edition.

SABISTON, M. *The Biblical Account of the Creation Shown to Be in Accordance with the Discoveries of Modern Science.* New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1909. Pp. ix+262.

The biblical interpretation in this volume is preposterous and the science is falsely so called. The book is of the stuff of which dreams are made.

JOYCE, G. C. *The Inspiration of Prophecy. An Essay in the Psychology of Revelation.* New York: Henry Frowde, 1910. Pp. 195. \$1.40.

The author declares prophecy to be psychologically inexplicable apart from some action of the supernatural. From this point of view, the subject is well worked out.

PUUKKO, A. F. *Das Deuteronomium: Eine literarkritische Untersuchung.* [Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, herausgegeben von R. Kittel. Heft 5.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. viii+303. No. 6.

A detailed study of the relation of Deuteronomy to the reform under Josiah and of the origin of the materials contained in the book as it now stands. As a result of his investigations, the author reconstructs the original Deuteronomy as he supposes it to have lain before Josiah. All students of Deuteronomy must reckon with this work.

NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS

CHAMBERLIN, GEORGIA L., AND KERN, MARY ROOT. *Walks with Jesus in His Home Country.* ("Child Religion in Song and Story," Vol. II.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. xviii+256. \$1.38.

These carefully arranged studies and exercises for little children are accompanied with songs and are admirably adapted to the uses of primary classes in Sunday schools.

THOMPSON, R. E. *The Apostles as Everyday Men.* Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1910. Pp. 70. 50 cents.

Under this curious title are grouped eight short popular articles. The treatment of the apostles in pairs leads to some artificiality and the discussions are not always critically based, e.g., on the patristic side. But these are readable sketches, and may lead some to a further interest in the Twelve.

GOWAN, H. H. *An Analytical Transcription of the Revelation of St. John the Divine.* With Introduction, Brief Commentary, and a Dictionary of Apocalypse. London: Skeffington, 1910. Pp. xiii+267.

Much learning, labor, and imagination have entered into this study of the Apocalypse. One would have wished a fuller introduction, and a more precise discrimina-

tion of the permanent from the merely formal elements of the book. But the arrangement is helpful and the notes suggestive.

HARRIS J. RENDEL. *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, Now First Published from the Syriac Version.* Cambridge: University Press, 1909. Pp. 154+54.

The Psalms of Solomon are already well known in their Greek form; but the Odes of Solomon are now published for the first time. Professor Harris assigns them to the first Christian century, and accompanies them with translations and notes. This important work will be fully reviewed later.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

PALMER, F. *The Winning of Immortality.* New York: Crowell, 1910. Pp. xvii+235. \$1.

A popular presentation of the theory of conditional immortality.

DEALEY, J. Q. *Ethical and Religious Significance of the State.*

HENDERSON, C. R. *A Reasonable Social Policy for Christian People.*

BATTEN, S. Z. *A Working Temperance Program.*

The three preceding titles pertain to as many pamphlets forming parts of a "Social Service Series" published by the American Baptist Publication Society in Philadelphia. They are admirably conceived and will render effective service in awakening the social consciousness of the church.

STELZLE, C. *The Church and Labor.* [Modern Religious Problems.] Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910. Pp. 95. 50 cents.

A stimulating and encouraging survey of a great problem by a well-informed writer.

Letters to His Holiness, Pope Pius X, by a Modernist. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1910. Pp. 300. \$1.25.

An attack upon the Roman hierarchy by an American priest, whose purpose is to arouse the Catholics of America to the iniquities of the official organization. The criticisms are trenchant and severe, and should arouse an earnest and intelligent discussion in church circles.

SCHAFF, DAVID S. *The Middle Ages, from Boniface VIII (1294) to the Protestant Reformation (1517).* [History of the Christian Church by Philip Schaff, Vol. V, Part 2.] New York: Scribners, 1910. Pp. xi+796. \$3.25.

This volume completes the great "History of the Christian Church" designed by Dr. Philip Schaff and carried so far toward completion in his own life-time. The period covered by this volume is one of intense interest in that it prepared the way for the great Protestant Reformation and itself culminated in the Renaissance. Dr. Schaff gives us a vivid picture of the period and has thus rendered a great service to all students of the history of the church.

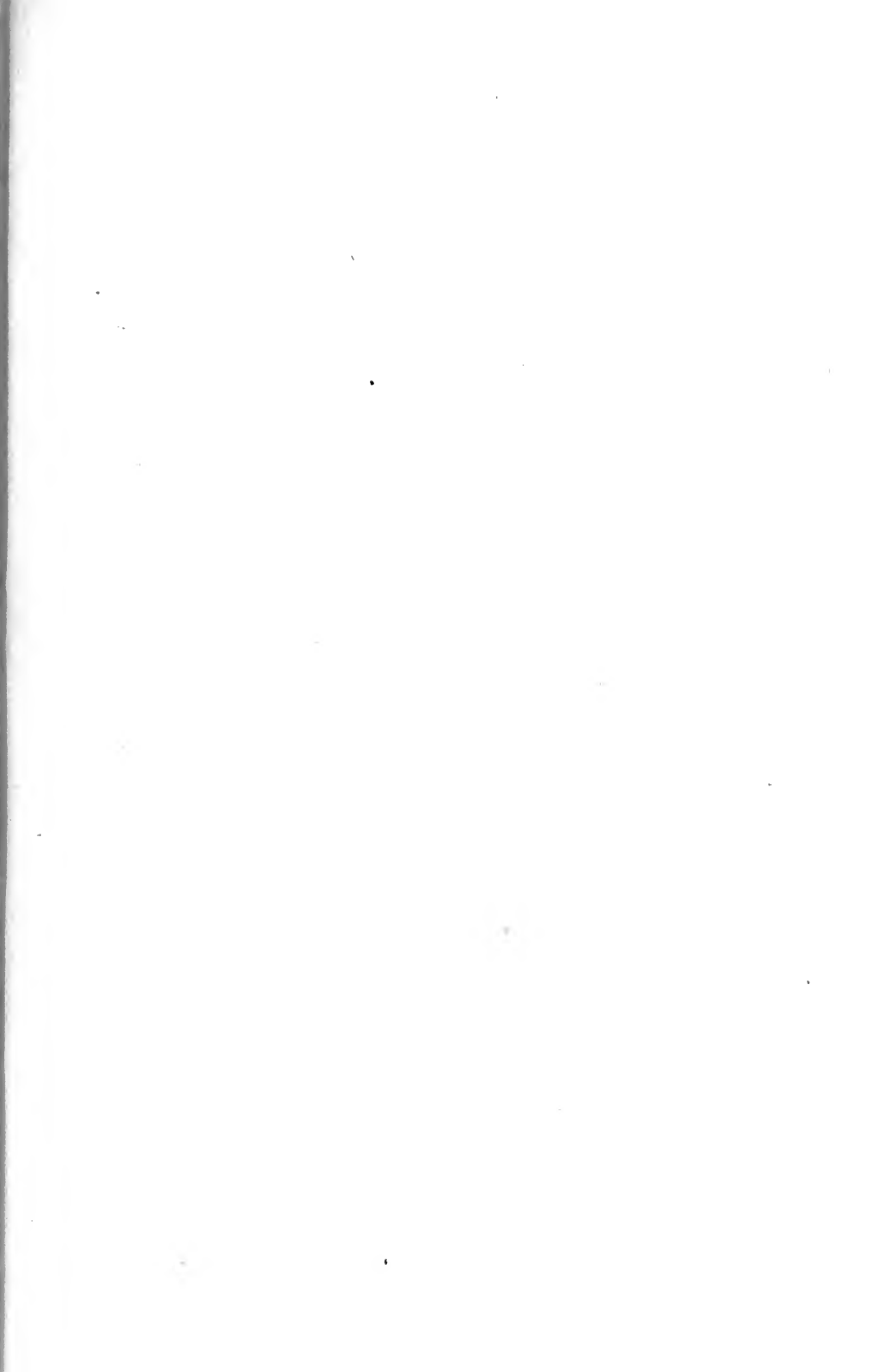
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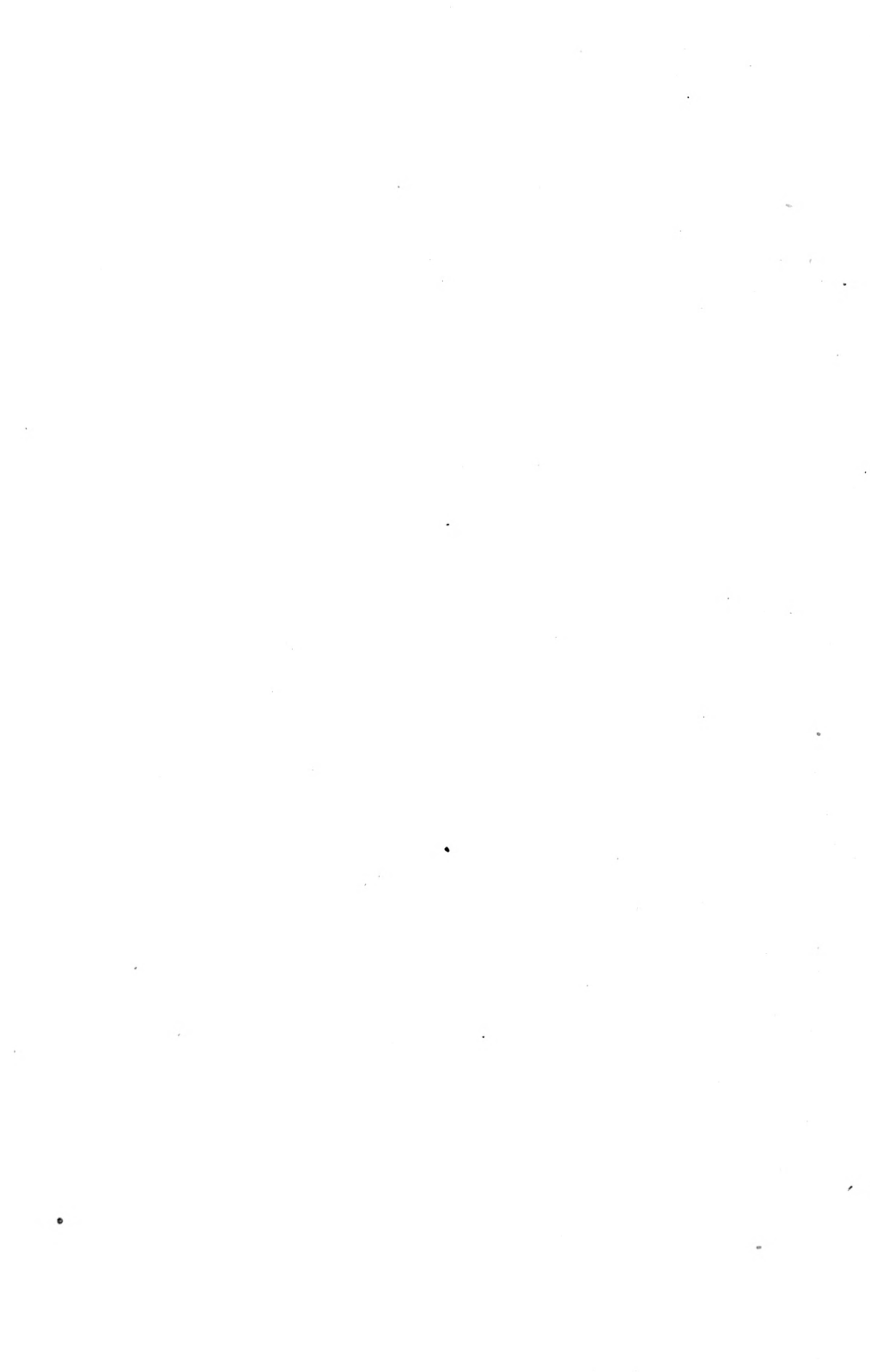
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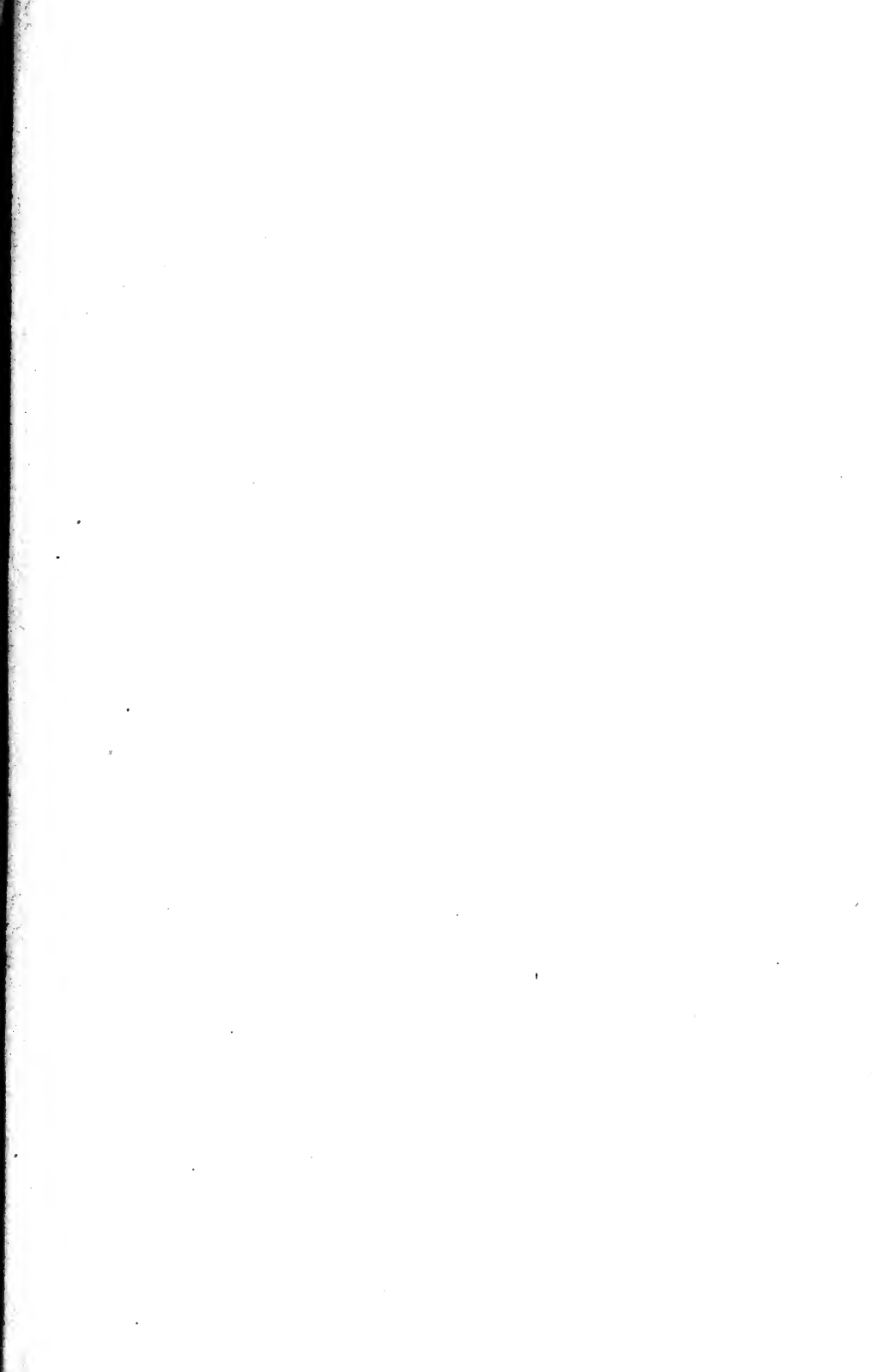
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